Middle Kingdom Studies 8

Art-facts and Artefacts Visualising the Material World in Middle Kingdom Egypt

Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi,
Claus Jurman, Uta Siffert (eds.)

MKS

GHP

Art-facts and Artefacts

Visualising the Material World in Middle Kingdom Egypt

Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi, Claus Jurman, Uta Siffert (eds.)

Middle Kingdom Studies 8

universität wien
Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät

Meketre scenerepository

FWF Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

This title is published by
Golden House Publications

Copyright © by the authors if not otherwise stated

cover images: front: Asyut, Tomb I/P10.1, offering scene; back: offering stand; photos: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project

All rights reserved; no part of this publication may be produced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without prior written permission from Golden House Publications.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 9781906137601
ISSN 2515-0944

Printed in the United Kingdom
By

CPI Group (UK) Ltd.
Croydon
CR0 4YY

London 2018

Middle Kingdom Studies

Series

Editor-in-Chief

Gianluca Miniaci

Advisory Board

Bettina Bader, Marilina Betrò, Marleen De Meyer, Juan Carlos Moreno García,
Alexander Ilin-Tomich, Stephen Quirke, Patricia Rigault, Gloria Rosati,
Andréas Stauder, Danijela Stefanović, Pascal Vernus, Paul Whelan

Table of Contents

Preface
The Editors vii

List of Abbreviations ix

Finds from the Tomb of Sarenput II (QH31) in 2015: An Unusual Limestone Head
José M. Alba Gómez and Angela M. J. Tooley 1

Burial Customs of the Elite of Elephantine in the Second Half of the Twelfth Dynasty
Luisa M. García González and Alejandro Jiménez Serrano 15

Broad Collars in Late Middle Kingdom Burials
Wolfram Grajetzki 25

Gefäße – Darstellungen in Wanddekoration und archäologischer Befund. Ein Fallbeispiel aus Assiut
Andrea Kilian 41

Populating Middle Kingdom Fauna: Inclusion and Exclusion of Zoological Iconographic Motifs in its Material Culture
Gianluca Miniaci 63

Individual and *Zeitgeist*: Textual and Iconographic Selections in the Chapel of Harhotep (CG 28023)
Antonio J. Morales and Mohamed Osman 85

Colour Plates 101

Preface

The six contributions assembled in the present volume are the outcome of a study day entitled *Artfacts and Artefacts: Visualising the Material World in Middle Kingdom Egypt* held at the premises of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna on 30th June 2017. The workshop was part of the *From Object to Icon* project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Project no. P 25958-G21) conducted at the Institute of Egyptology in cooperation with the Research Group Multimedia Information Systems at the University of Vienna.[1] The successful meeting succeeded the first *MeKeTRE Study Day,* which took place at the very same institution two years earlier.[2]

The research project entitled *From Object to Icon: Visual Reflections on and the Designations of Material Culture in the Reliefs and Paintings of Middle Kingdom Tombs* aimed at exploring two-dimensional representations of objects in relation to the three-dimensional artefacts, which they were intended to illustrate. What kinds of objects were selected for depiction in art and how were they depicted? Exploring the interplay between objects and their visual representations is crucial for understanding how the ancient Egyptians related towards their natural and cultural environment since these depictions were meant to convey to the viewer the meaning and the very essence of an object. The papers gathered in this volume partly reflect the goals of the project, but also intend to take its agenda further by broadening the scope of the research. The content of the book, however, represents a slight modification to the original programme of the study day. The workshop featured a wealth of different aspects of pictorial and material culture of the Middle Kingdom: thus, Wolfram Grajetzki (London) put up the intriguing question: *Did Egyptians really wear broad collars?* Two presentations focused especially on the visual world of Dayr al-Barsha: Marleen De Meyer (KU Leuven), *The supply chain of Djehutihotep's* Ka*-chapel: new iconographic evidence* and Lubica Hudáková (University of Vienna), *Gardening at Deir el-Bersha in the Middle Kingdom: a unique representation of Cucurbitaceae cultivation*. Andrea Kilian (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz/The Asyut Project) moved the focus of investigation further south in presenting *Pottery – Representation in wall decoration and archaeological record. A view from Asyut*. In a similar, but more general fashion, Bettina Bader (Austrian Academy of Sciences) posed the question: *Pottery workshops in Middle Kingdom Art: Are they reliable sources for the study of manufacturing pottery?* Luisa M. García González and Alejandro Jiménez Serrano (University of Jaén) added recent discoveries in the necropolis of Elephantine with their paper *Dead governors of Elephantine in the Twelfth Dynasty,* while Gianluca Miniaci (University of Pisa) gave a stimulating talk about *Populating Middle Kingdom fauna: inclusion and seclusion of zoological iconographic motifs in the material culture.*

These topics aroused discussions and provided ample resonance, clearly demonstrating the interest in the ongoing research concerning visual arts and culture. It is therefore with considerable regret that some of the papers presented at the study day could not be included in the present volume.[3] That being said, however, the editors were fortunate to receive additional contributions, which were not presented at the workshop, but perfectly fit its direction of enquiry. José M. Alba Gómez and Angela M. J. Tooley provide a paper on the excavations in the tomb of Sarenput II and discuss a small painted limestone head probably originating from an acrobat figurine. Antonio J. Morales and Mohamed Osman meticulously discuss the painted walls of the chamber and sarcophagus of Harhotep (CG 28023) as well as the tomb's archaeological setting in the necropolis.

The editors are especially proud to present the results of the study day and additional contributions to a wider audience. We would like to extend our appreciation to all the speakers and authors who have contributed to the success of the workshop as well as to this publication. We are much indebted to Regina Hölzl, director of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*, for her kind support and for putting the venue at our disposal as well as to the students of the Institute of Egyptology for their helpful assistance at the meeting. The study day would not have been possible without the generous support of the Austrian Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung

[1] www.meketre.org.

[2] Hudáková, L., P. Jánosi, A. Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art. Proceedings of the MeKeTRE Study Day held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (3rd May 2013)* (London: MKS 4, 2016).

[3] For the papers of Marleen De Meyer and Lubica Hudáková see: De Meyer, M., H. Willems, "The Regional Supply Chain of Djehutihotep's *Ka*-Chapel in Tjerty", *CRIPEL* 31 (2017), 33-56; Hudáková, L., "Gardening at Deir el-Bersha in the Middle Kingdom: A Unique Representation of *Cucurbitaceae* Cultivation", *Ä&L* 26 (2016), 313-327.

der wissenschaftlichen Forschung). The participants also benefited from the generous funding of the Dean of The Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies of the Vienna University (Claudia Theune-Vogt).

As with the first volume of the study day papers our sincere appreciation is extended to Wolfram Grajetzki and Gianluca Miniaci for readily accepting the manuscript for print in the series *Middle Kingdom Studies*. Our special thanks go to Paul Whelan for his accurate proofreading and valuable comments.

The present volume will provide the interested reader with a wealth of new information readily on hand and hopefully stimulates further endeavour in this field.

The Editors
Vienna, September 2018

List of Abbreviations

Journals, Series, Institutions

Ä&L = *Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* (Vienna)

ÄA = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)

ÄAT = *Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments* (Hamburg, Wiesbaden)

ACE = *Australian Centre for Egyptology* (Sydney)

ACER = *Australian Centre for Egyptology, Reports* (Sydney, Warminster, Oxford)

ÄF = *Ägyptologische Forschungen* (Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York)

AOAT = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Münster)

ARC = *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* (Cambridge)

ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)

ASE = *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* (London)

AV = *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo* (Berlin, Mainz am Rhein)

BACE = *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (North Ryde)

BAEDE = *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* (Madrid)

BAR IS = *British Archaeological Reports: International Series* (Oxford)

BdE = *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, IFAO (Cairo)

BES = *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* (New York)

BEVRMOL = *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden)

BIE II Sér. = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte, Deuième* Série (Cairo)

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)

BMH = *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* (Budapest)

BMMA = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York)

BMMA, NS = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Series* (New York)

BMPES = *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* (Leuven)

BOS n.s. = *Bonnner Orientalische Studien, Neue Serie* (Stuttgart, Bonn, Wiesbaden)

BS = *Bollingen Series* (Princeton)

BSAE = *British School of Archaeology in Egypt* (London)

BSAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte* (Hamburg)

BSEG = *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* (Geneva)

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London)

BzS = *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* (Vienna)

CAA = *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer* (Mainz am Rhein)

CAJ = *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (Cambridge)

CChEM = *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Vienna)

CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte* (Brussels)

CRIPEL = *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et Égyptologie de Lille* (Lille)

DAWB = *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin)

DGÖAW = *Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Vienna)

EES = *Egypt Exploration Society* (London)

EM = *Egyptological Memoirs* (Leiden, Boston)

EtudTrav = *Études et Travaux. Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne d'Académie Polonaise des Sciences* (Warsaw)

EU = *Egyptologische Uitgaven* (Leiden)

GHP Egyptology = *Golden House Publications, Egyptology* (London)

GM = *Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)

GM Beihefte = *Göttinger Miszellen, Beihefte* (Göttingen)

GOF = *Göttinger Orientforschung* (Wiesbaden)

HdO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, Cologne)

JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston, New York)

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)

JEgH = *Journal of Egyptian History* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne)

JEOL = *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* (Leiden)

JMC = *Journal of Material Culture* (London)

JWAG = *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore)

LÄ = Helck, W., E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1975–1992)

LAPO = *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* (Paris)

LD = Lepsius, K.R., *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1849–1859)
LingAeg StudMon = *Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica* (Hamburg)
LingAeg = *Lingua Aegyptia* (Göttingen, Hamburg)
MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Mainz am Rhein, Berlin)
MEEF = *Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London)
MIE = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo)
MIFAO = *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* (Cairo)
MKS = *Middle Kingdom Studies* (London)
MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MMAF = *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* (Paris)
MVEOL = *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genotschap Ex Oriente Lux* (Leiden)
OINE = *Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition* (Chicago)
OIP = *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago)
OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven)
OMRO = *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (Leiden)
Oryx = *Oryx: Journal of the Fauna Preservation Society* (Oxford)
PBF II = *Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung II: Gefäße* (Stuttgart)
PdÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne)
PIREI = *Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisées* (Utrecht, Paris)
PM = Porter, B., R.L.B. Moss, J. Malek (eds.), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1927–2012)
PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition* (New York)
PPYE = *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt* (New Haven, CT)
PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London)
RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris, Leuven)
RitesEg = *Rites Égyptiens* (Brussels)
RT = *Recueil de Travaux* (Cairo)
SAAC = *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization*, Jagiellonian University (Cracow)
SAGA = *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* (Heidelberg)
SAK = *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)
SAOC = *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation* (Chicago)
SDAIK = *Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Wiesbaden)
SHAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Heidelberg)
SIE = *Studies in Egyptology* (London, New York)
SMA = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Gothenburg)
TTS = *Theban Tombs Series*, London
UCL = University College, London
UEE = Wendrich, W. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles), http://digital2.library.ucla.edu <accessed 01.10.2018>
UZK = *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (Vienna)
Wb = Erman, A., H. Grapow (eds.), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols., second edition (Leipzig, Berlin, 1926–1957)
YES = *Yale Egyptological Studies* (New Haven, CT)
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin, Leipzig)

Other Abbreviations

BC = before Christ (= before common era)
BM EA = British Museum, London, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan (inventory number)
CG = *Catalogue Général* (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
JE = *Journal d'Entrée* (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
QH = Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb number)
TR = *Temporary Register* (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
TT = Theban Tomb (tomb number)
Turin Suppl. = Museo Egizio di Torino, Inventario supplementare

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 1-13

Finds from the Tomb of Sarenput II (QH31) in 2015: An Unusual Limestone Head

José M. Alba Gómez and Angela M. J. Tooley

Abstract
During the 2015 season the University of Jaén Spanish Mission to Qubbet el-Hawa cleared the shaft and chambers of QH31, the tomb of Sarenput II. The first section of the paper gives an overview of QH31, and focuses on the excavation of the sloping corridor (C0) and the material recovered in this area. The second section discusses a small painted limestone head found in the lower section of the corridor. It is proposed that the head originates from an acrobat figurine.

Sarenput II and early excavations

Sarenput II, also known as *Nbw-kȝw-Rᶜ-nḫt* was a powerful local ruler in Elephantine during the Middle Kingdom. Among his titles are those pertaining to administration: *ḥȝty-ᶜ* ('provincial governor'), *ḥry-tp ᶜȝ n Tȝ-Stỉ* ('nomarch of Ta-Seti'), as well as religious offices: 'high priest' and 'overseer of the priests' of Khnum and Satet.[1] Sarenput II lived during the Twelfth Dynasty reigns of Senwosret II (*c.* 1882–1872 BC) and Senwosret III (*c.* 1872–1852 BC). His wife was [Dede]t-Khnum, with whom he had a son called Ankhu. His father and predecessor was the nomarch Khema and his mother was Setjet-hetep, daughter of Sarenput I and Satjeni.

The tomb of Sarenput II is a large mortuary complex which has been investigated on numerous occasions with varying results, most of which is poorly recorded. It was first explored by Wallis Budge on behalf of the Rt. Hon. Francis Grenfell and his associate, Major Plunkett, during the years 1886–1887.[2] In 1886 Gaston Maspero, the director-general of excavations and of antiquities for the Egyptian government, visited the site and wrote a brief description of the tomb.[3] In 1888 Urbain Bouriant published an article describing the tombs previously discovered by Grenfell.[4] Jacques de Morgan[5] published a description of the tomb, its inscriptions and decoration in 1894. Between 1903 and 1904 Howard Carter, who was then chief inspector of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, supervised work that removed sand from the forecourt of the tomb and its large hall.[6] Several years later, in 1940, Hans Wolfgang Müller studied and described the Middle Kingdom tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa.[7] His main interest in QH31 lay in its architecture. Müller's recording of the investigation of the tomb was better than that of his predecessors, but he failed to explore the shaft because he did not have a long enough ladder. Finally, in the late 1950s, and without clearing the tomb, Elmar Edel used it as a base and workplace for the documentation and study of objects from excavations carried out in other tombs.[8]

Considering the previous poor recording of work within QH31 the University of Jaén decided to excavate the ramp, the shaft and funerary chambers[9] in the 2015 season. The purpose of the excavation was to complete the plan of Sarenput II's tomb, to better understand

[1] For the titles of Sarenput II see: Alba Gómez, "The Funerary Chambers of Sarenput II".
[2] Budge, *PSBA* 9, 78-82; Budge, *PSBA* 10, 4-40.
[3] Maspero, *BIE* II Sér. 7, 227-34 (232 for description of the excavation).
[4] Bouriant, *RT* 10, 181-98 (189-91 for Sarenput's II tomb).
[5] De Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des Monuments*, 153-5.
[6] Carter, *ASAE* 6, 112-29 (in particular 127-8).
[7] Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten*, 62-88, pls. 30-1, 37-43.
[8] Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa*, vol. I, 423.
[9] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEDE* 24, 9-25.

its architectural features within the context of Middle Kingdom tomb design at Qubbet el-Hawa, and to study and record all the material found.

The tomb of Sarenput II and the excavation of the sloping corridor (C0)

Sarenput II's tomb follows an axial plan,[10] with symmetrical northwest-southeast orientation. A large courtyard gives access to the entrance door leading to a spacious hall whose ceiling is supported by six pillars. In the south wall of this hall are two small chambers which were probably used as burial chambers for family members. A flight of nine steps leads up to a long narrow corridor with a low-vaulted roof. The corridor is two-thirds covered with thin white plaster. Three niches in each side of the corridor preserve mummiform figures of Sarenput II portrayed as the mummified Osiris. The corridor leads to an inner room, the cult chamber (Fig. 1). It consists of four pillars and a niche or mortuary chapel containing the cult statue of the owner at the rear. In the south wall of the cult chamber is an entrance 1.00 m high and 0.88 m wide giving access to another chamber (B1) which is approximately 3.18 m long and 2.80 m wide[11] and much bigger than the chambers in

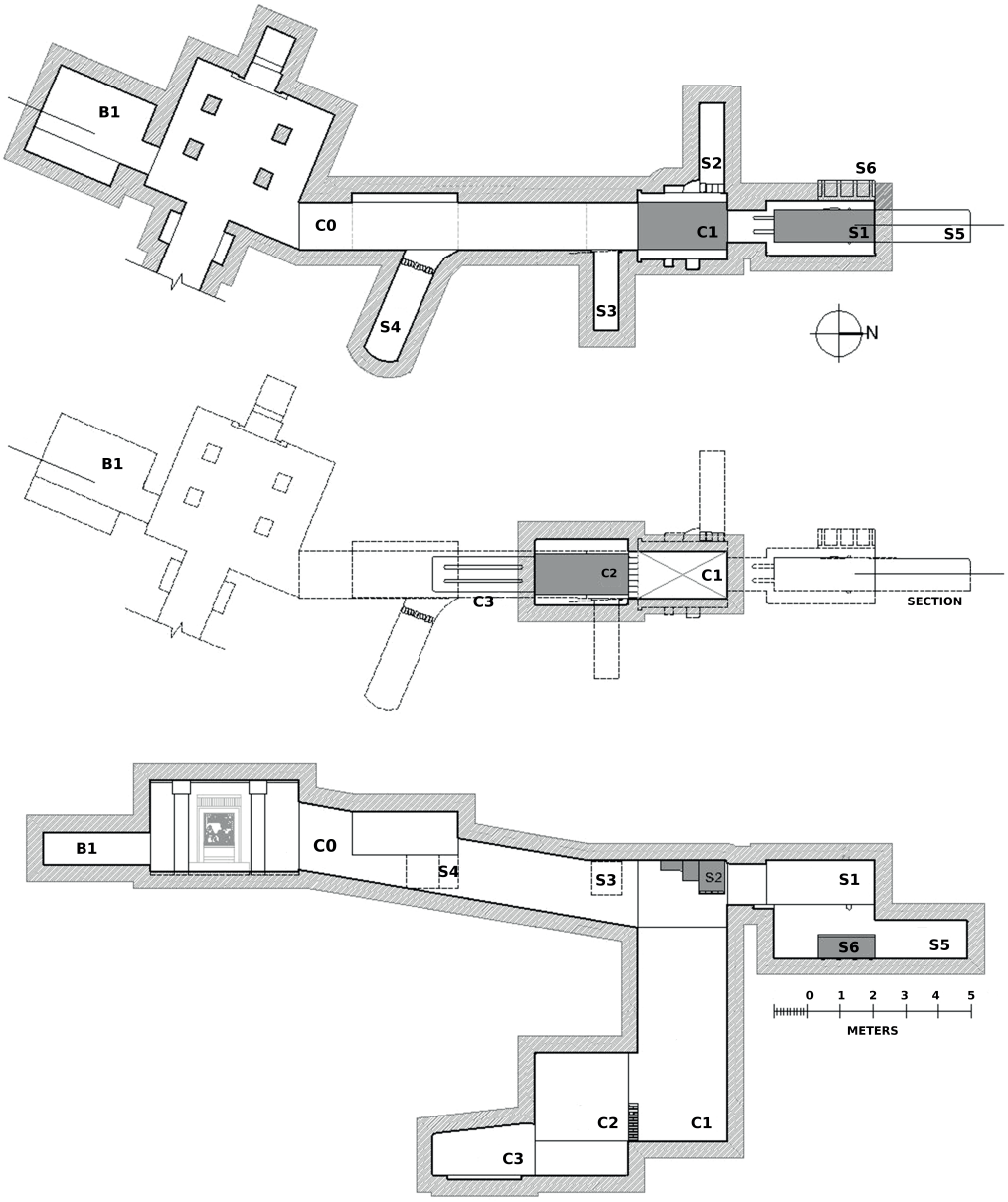


Fig. 1 - Plan of the rear section of tomb QH31 showing the cult chamber, sloping corridor (C0) and subterranean burial apartments. Plan © Juan Antonio Martínez Hermoso

[10] Martínez Hermoso, *Representación Gráfica* (see: http://hdl.handle.net/10396/14783 <accessed 26.09.2017>).

[11] It was not possible to measure this chamber accurately because it is full of baskets of bones from the previous works of the Bonn Mission.

the hall. In this chamber, a platform on the left was probably used to store the funerary offerings. This type of rock cut tomb design is repeated in tomb QH33 with some alterations, and following an evolution of the QH32 tomb design.[12]

Access to the funerary chambers is in the corner of the northern wall of the cult chamber. The entrance is about 1.90 m high and 1.20 m wide. It leads downwards towards the north. The underground parts of the tomb consist of a ramp or sloping corridor (C0) giving access to a shaft (C1) that opens in the floor. The ramp is 8.90 m long with a step and then continues for a further 1.92 m to the shaft mouth. The slope is more than 45 degrees and the ceiling is not graduated, but changes almost in the middle and has a maximum height of 2.48 m. The width of the ramp is approximately 1.55 m. Around the shaft, located on both sides of the ramp, secondary burial chambers (S1, S3 and S4) have been cut. Descending the ramp, to the right is the first burial chamber (S4), 3.69 m long and 1.85 m wide. Almost at the end of the ramp, again to the right, is another burial chamber (S3), 2.46 m long and 0.74 m wide. To the left is a third chamber (S2), 2.74 m long and 0.76 m wide. Just before the end of the ramp is an antechamber (S1) giving access to a small niche (S6) in its left side to the west, and another funerary chamber (S5) to the north. The shaft (C1) is 5.37 m deep and 1.48 m wide. At the bottom of the shaft, on the south side, closed with a mud brick-sealing wall at the north side, was the entrance to an antechamber (C2) and the burial chamber (C3) where the body of Sarenput was laid to rest in two cedar wood coffins.

All of the burial chambers were found looted and some of them reused in antiquity. In addition, it was found that pre-modern archaeological techniques have resulted in artefacts being moved, mixed and in some cases destroyed; nothing was found in situ.

Artefacts, organics and other remains from the sloping corridor (C0)

Many fragments of artefacts, organics and other remains were recorded and studied during the excavation. This material has enabled us to partially reconstruct the funerary equipment of a nomarch from the Twelfth Dynasty and to understand the original use of the tomb and the later reuse of the funerary complex.

The process of clearing the ramp (C0) was undertaken from the top to the bottom. An initial survey was made to register all the surface material in the area. Even when the area was closed by a fence the surface layer was found to contain cigarette butts, matches and small pieces of burnt paper at different points on the ramp. It is evident that some of this material was used to illuminate the tomb, for and by visitors, before access to this area was closed. Added to this, pieces of aluminium foil and an Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Akhbar*, from April 5th 1983 were found. Some bulbs from flashcubes and cables were also found. The highest concentration of this material was at the end of the ramp as a result of it rolling downhill.

The first layer encountered was a 3–5 cm deep layer of relatively loose sand, stones and stone chips. In this superficial layer were found some amorphous pottery sherds, both large and small, fragments of mudbrick and a few bones. Looting in the side chambers would account for this type of material on the sloping corridor. For instance, chamber (S4) and (S2) were closed with mudbricks rather than a stone slab as in other tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa; a course of brickwork remains in situ at the entrance to both funerary chambers.

A second layer, around 27–30 cm deep, and lying directly on the corridor floor, consisted of a compacted layer of the same material. In this layer were found pottery fragments, small sherds, some bones and complete mudbricks. The bricks found at the end of the ramp, both complete and incomplete, are 27 cm long, 13 cm high and 8 cm wide.

An accumulation of material was found in an area 1.20 m from the end of the ramp including bandages and bones. In this layer, almost in the middle of the ramp, 4.23 m from the bottom were found fragments of a burial. Of the 48 individuals found within the tomb, only one subadult (infant) and a mature man[13] were found on the ramp. It is evident that these two individuals are not in the place of their original burial, but have been moved after many lootings and visits to the tomb. These bones are associated with fragments of wood, some of which is polychrome painted, faience inlay decorations and burnt bandages (Pl. I.1). The faience inlays were part of a cartonnage placed over the mummy. It was decided to sift all the excavated sand in an area outside the tomb in order to recover the smallest fragments, sherds and beads, and to extract the maximum information possible.

An important artefact found within the debris layer in this area was a further fragment of a granodiorite/black granite seated statue of Sarenput II (Fig. 3 bottom left). The statue itself, now in the British Museum,[14]

[12] Jiménez Serrano, García Gonzalez, "Las Tumbas de los Gobernadores de Elefantina durante la Dinastía XII".

[13] The study of the anthropological material has been carried out by a team from the University of Granada: Dr. Miguel C. Botella López, Dr. Inmaculada Alemán Aguilera and Ángel Rubio Salvador.

[14] British Museum London, BM EA 98 and 1010. The statue, which originally stood in the statue niche, was broken into several pieces by robbers. The two fragments were reunited

was discovered by Grenfell during his excavations.[15]

In terms of pottery from the sloping corridor, five types of bases have been identified including an amphora, a flower pot, a small flat dish and a hemispherical cup but without a rim. Several rim forms have also been found, including those from bottles and dishes with a white slip and hemispherical cups with a red rim. These latter can be dated from the end of Twelfth Dynasty to the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The cups can be assigned to our Group III;[16] the majority have a perfect hemispherical profile.[17] There are also fragments of a 'black' hemispherical cup, the product of a reducing atmosphere due to lack of oxygen when the piece was fired in the kiln.

Fragments of a squat carinated jar (Fig. 2) with short broad neck in a red-brown burnished slip and decorated with dark red horizontal and wavy stripes were also found (sherds of the same jar were also found in other areas of the tomb). This type of vessel is

Fig. 2 - New Kingdom carinated jar decorated with dark red lines (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 44). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

typical of thelate Second Intermediate Period and early reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Our example matches forms dated to the reign of Thutmosis III. Found with or without a ring base, they usually have decoration painted in a dark red colour on a paler background. The painted line decoration is usually of parallel lines, but may also have wavy lines or are limited to vertical or hatched decoration.[18] Fragments of this jar were found scattered throughout the corridor, shaft and chambers; further evidence, if it were needed, of the extent of looting over time.

Also found within the sloping corridor were fragments of wood and polychrome decorated wood (Pl. I.1). Among the fragments was a piece of painted cedar wood with yellow base, which came from the outer coffin of Sarenput II. Another piece of painted wood had a frieze of multi-coloured squares on the corner, with a white primer as a base. Evidence for a Middle Kingdom anthropoid coffin or cartonnage was found in the form of ornamental details such as decorative faience inlays. Such coffins or cartonnages comprise black bands decorating the headdress or wig which were overlaid by rows of small, lozenge-shaped pastilles of black faience with striated faces to produce the effect of thick, wavy locks of hair.[19] A plaster ear found next to the faience inlays appears to come from the same anthropoid coffin. Evidence for the reuse of the tomb in the New Kingdom is found in another type of faience bead (Fig. 3 top right). Of light blue faience, it has the form of a star with a hole in its middle. Similar beads were found in the Uluburun shipwreck.[20]

Objects in stone from the sloping corridor include a plumb (Fig. 3 bottom right) and a calcite/travertine jar lid (Fig. 3 top left). The plumb bob is made of hard brown limestone and has a suspension hole. Known from the Third Dynasty onward,[21] the QH31 example appears to date to the Twelfth Dynasty.[22]

Other organic remains include *Phoenix dactylifera* (date palm) stones or fruits.[23] Date pits have been found in Middle Kingdom contexts[24] but are encountered

during preparations for the Nubian Gallery at the British Museum in 1991, see: Fay, in Goring *et al*. (eds.), *Chief of Seers,* 97, 103, figs. 4-8.

[15] *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. VI, 7 (no. 157), pl. 20.

[16] Alba Gómez, "Periodos de Ocupación de la Tumba QH31"; Alba Gómez, "Informe Preliminar de las Cerámicas".

[17] See: Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 277.

[18] There are examples from the reign of Hatshepsut when this type of squat jar increases in size, with changes to the type of finish, and then becomes shorter thereafter. See for example parallels from Qustul and Adidan: Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul*, 165, fig. 21b, 178, 196, 281, 338, fig. 156d. It is also documented at Dra Abu el-Naga in Thebes: Seiler, *Grab und Kult,* 63, pl. 17 (no. 91/139).

[19] Arnold, Arnold, Dorman, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. I, 147, 312.

[20] Ingram, *Faience and Glass Beads*, 191.

[21] Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 42, 118.

[22] Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 48 (B68) is quite similar.

[23] The vegetal remains are being studied by Dr. Eva Montes from the University of Jaén.

[24] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 619 (and bibliography cited)

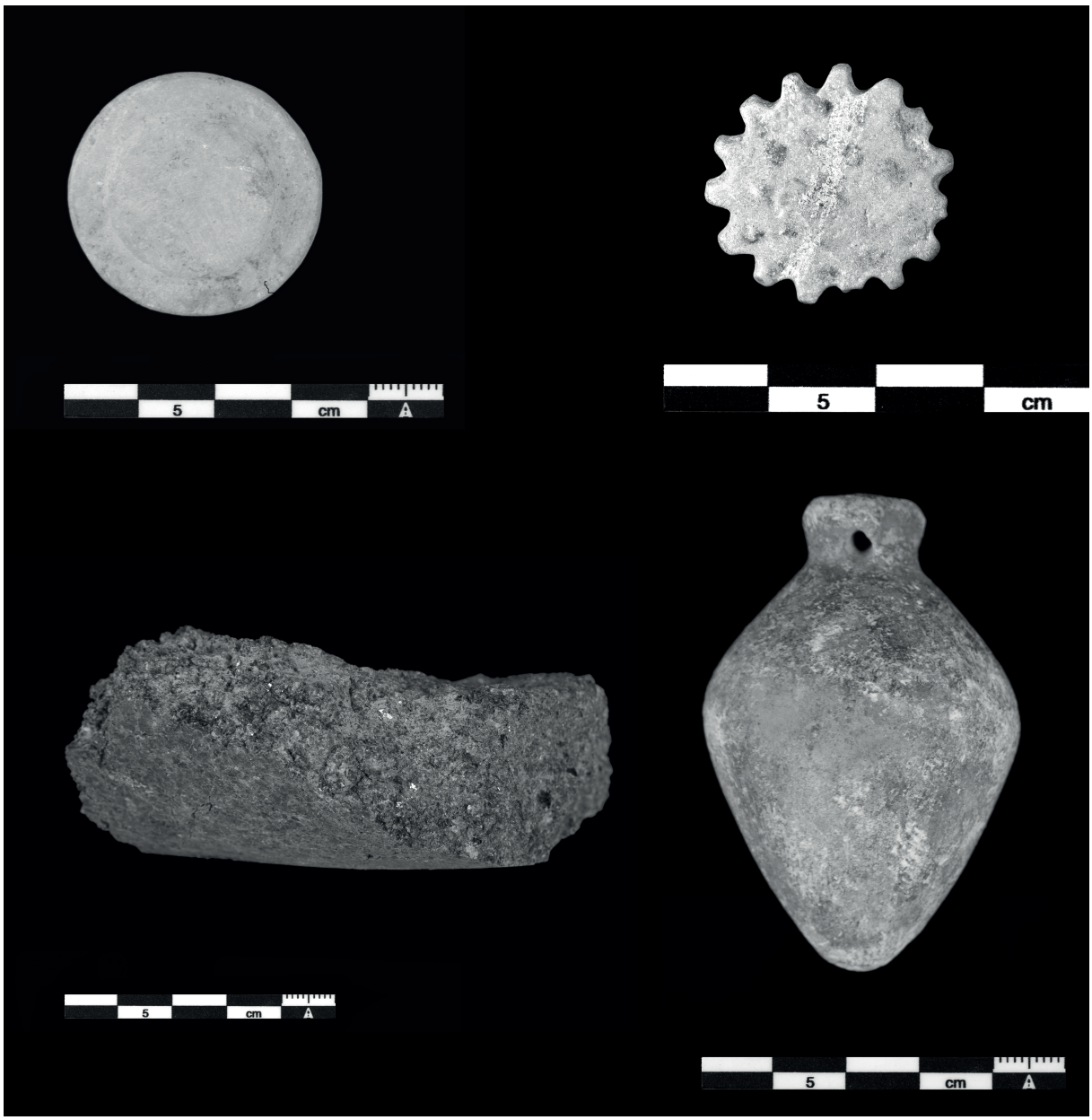


Fig. 3 - Top left: Calcite/travertine jar lid (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 8); top right: New Kingdom faience bead (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 328); bottom left: fragment of granodiorite/black granite statue (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 7); bottom right: limestone plumb (QH31/15//C0/UE1/Inv. 31). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

more frequently at New Kingdom sites. It is difficult therefore to establish a chronology for this material in a looted context. It cannot be specified that the date pits are from a Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, Late Period or an even later context within the tomb.

The limestone head

One of the most significant fragments recovered from the debris layer in the lower section of the sloping corridor (C0) is a small painted limestone head (Pl. I.2).[25] Preserved from the top of the neck, just below the jaw, to the ends of the hair, the head measures 3.5 cm long overall with an almost round face 1.9 cm tall and 1.9 cm ear to ear. The position of the head within the corridor means that it is not possible to ascribe this sculpture to a particular chamber or burial context within the tomb.

Despite its small size, the head has been carefully and delicately modelled. Below the long, pointed nose, the wide mouth has small indentations which raise the corners in a slight smile. The large almond-shaped eyes

relating to finds dating from the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties from Gebelein, Kahun, Kom Rabi'a and Tell el-Dab'a.

[25] Excavation number QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 32.

are set straight in the face and are outlined in relief but without any cosmetic line. The heavy upper lids and brows are indicated by deep grooves cut from the bridge of the nose to the temples. Rather carelessly applied black paint picks out the iris and outlines the eyes making them appear larger so that they dominate the face. The large asymmetrically set ears – the proper left is higher than the right – are detailed internally with fleshy lobes and the suggestion of the tragus marked (Pl. II.1). The skin of the face, ears and back of the neck are painted a pale yellow. The full cheeks and small rounded chin give the head a youthful appearance. The hair is unusual: instead of framing the face, the hair is swept back and upwards. With a central parting, the hair is striated and gathered into a 'pony-tail' by a red ribbed band, the end of the lock terminating in two curls. Above the forehead is a crescent of hair filling the central parting (Pl. II.2). A slight indentation in the ribbed band suggests that the hair comprises two sections or bunches brought together which, if allowed to fall forward over the shoulders, would form the two side lappets of a Hathoric scroll wig. The hair itself is painted black with a rusty-brown colour applied to the crown and hairline. Breaks at the top of the neck and ends of the hair indicate that the head had once been attached at these two points.

The modelling of the features, the brow bone and upper eyelids formed by the deep groove above each eye, the gently smiling mouth and large detailed ears, are indicative of a date between the late Twelfth Dynasty (Senwosret III/Amenemhat III) to early Thirteenth Dynasty.[26] A detail of the hair supports this dating: on the forehead is a crescent shape. Comparable crescents[27] are also found on wooden sculpture of late Twelfth Dynasty date.[28] Statues exhibiting these crescents, like the limestone head, predominantly have striated hair sometimes ornamented with incised zigzag lines. Julia Harvey suggests that the shape, which is described as a triangle, is a headscarf or headcloth worn beneath the hair.[29] However, the bottom edge is convex and, in some instances, fringed by a row of dots[30] which would seem, together with the black colouration, to indicate hair or some kind of marking. Rare during the Middle Kingdom,[31] this detail is seen again in the Eighteenth Dynasty on Hathor heads decorating blue-painted pottery,[32] blue faience votive bowls, and in the Nineteenth Dynasty on stelae and on a limestone votive water basin,[33] as well as on a votive Anuqet sistrum standard.[34] The forehead crescent is therefore closely associated with Hathor and may have been an allusion to Hathor when depicted on Middle Kingdom private sculpture like the QH31 limestone head.

The head is broken cleanly through the top of the neck and unevenly at the ends of the hair indicating a join to a composition at these points. Initially, it was thought that the head may have come from a cosmetic spoon. However, figural spoon handles are scarce during the Middle Kingdom; of those that survive, the figures are depicted standing upright and supporting the bowl of the spoon on top of the head,[35] a configuration inconsistent with the QH31 head. The so-called 'swimming girl' form of spoon handle is not known until the New Kingdom.[36] Of the few examples depicting a 'pony-tail', the hair hangs down towards the body.[37] Figural spoon handles are most frequently made in bone or wood and stones such as travertine, steatite or schist,[38] or a combination of exotic stones rather than limestone. The upswept hair and material of the QH31 head is therefore incongruous for a figural spoon. Figural jars during the Middle Kingdom to early New Kingdom are uncommon[39] and examples known

[26] See for instance: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 36 (cat. no. 27), 57 (cat. no. 44).

[27] Harvey, *JWAG* 49/50, 1, 4, figs. 2, 5, 7-8. See also: Rigault, *CRIPEL* 30, 233-48 for a full survey of the forehead crescent.

[28] Harvey, *JWAG* 49/50, 4-5. Second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.

[29] Harvey, *JWAG* 49/50, 1.

[30] Seen clearly on the Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 22.16: Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, 36-7 (cat. no. 86), pl. 17; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 19.3.1 (Dedetamun): Lansing, BMMA 15/2, 16, fig. 8; PM I/2, 624-5.

[31] A further example is the Hathor/Bat-headed mirror handle, CG 52663 / JE 44920 (Egyptian Museum Cairo), from the tomb of Sat-Hathor-Iunet at Lahun, the forehead crescent worn without hair: Wildung, Schoske, *Nofret die Schöne*, 116-7 (cat. no. 53).

[32] Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 38 (no. 54), 39 (nos. 55-6) from Amarna, reign of Akhenaton, described as a forehead disk. Other examples have been found at Malkata and elsewhere from the reign of Amenhotep III.

[33] *Kunsthistorisches Museum* Vienna, ÄS 50: Rogge, *Statuen des Neuen Reiches*, 60-4.

[34] Anuqet syncretized with Hathor, Musée du Louvre N 3534, from Deir el-Medina: Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75, 141-5 (no. 10), pls. 21, 23.

[35] Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 12-4, pl. 7.

[36] Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 18-23, pls. 11-5; Late Period examples are also known: Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 38-41, pl. 34.

[37] For example, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, EA1921.735, from Sanam: Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 136 (cat. O 11), pl. 34.

[38] Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 69. During the Late Period faience is also found.

[39] Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL, UC 69855: Flinders Petrie, *The Funeral Furniture,* 24, pl. 34 (868); Christie's, *Antiquities*, lot 8; Ashmolean Museum of Art and

to the authors are in steatite. The female figurine forming the handle of bag-shaped cosmetic jars wears a shoulder-length hairstyle and joins the jar at the base of the hair and the plinth on which the figure stands. As before, the position of the hair is incompatible with a figural jar handle.

If the head is turned 90 degrees with the face turned uppermost and with the hair hanging down a solution to what genre of object it came from presents itself. A tradition of small-scale sculpture is found during the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period which depict men and women engaged in various activities.[40] One of these sculptural forms is the acrobat: a figurine depicting a young woman in an athletic backward-flip (also termed the bridge pose) in which the hands, feet and hair are attached to the pedestal. It is plausible that the head originates from an acrobat figurine.

Several figurines of acrobats are known:

1. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ÄM 14570, limestone, unprovenanced, L. 10.5 × H. 5.5 cm (Fig. 4).[41]
The female figurine holds a rather flat bridge pose and wears a short kilt carved in relief leaving the torso naked. The long straight hair falls to the pedestal and pools in a rounded mound off-centre to the right. The areas of stone forming the negative space between the arms, legs, hair and pedestal are bridged giving a rather static and solid impression to the composition.

2. Formerly Berlin Museum 14202, limestone, unprovenanced, L. 10.7 × H. 5.3 cm (Fig. 5).[42]
Like ÄM 14570, this figurine holds a flat bridge pose, wears a short kilt carved in relief leaving the torso naked. The hair is dressed in three short wavy braids which do not touch the base. All of the negative space is bridged.

3. Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL, UC 59268, limestone, unprovenanced, L. 3.6 cm.[43]
This very small torso fragment comprises the lower torso to upper thighs of a figurine in a bridge pose. The lower abdomen is painted red with a black kilt and the legs painted yellow. The negative space below the figurine's back is cut away.

4. Al-Salam School Museum, Asyut 238/69, limestone, unprovenanced, L. 12 × H. 5.5 cm.[44]
This unusual figurine is unlike the others known to the authors in that the full bridge pose is not depicted. Here the upper body is supported in the bridge position while the feet rest on a raised section of the pedestal with the knees bent, as though in preparation for kicking off into a back-flip. No paint survives so that the figurine appears naked, the hair is long and straight and reaches the pedestal. The stone forming the negative space between the body and pedestal is bridged.

5. Uncertain examples.
Serabit el-Khadim[45] – a small faience head with upswept hair closely resembling the QH31 limestone head may have been part of an acrobat composition. Several figurines are also said to have come from tombs at Dayr al-Barsha.[46]

6. Brooklyn Museum, acc. no. 13.1024, limestone, from Abydos tomb D303, L. 17.5 × H. 6.5 cm (Pl. II.3).[47]

The most convincing and carefully modelled of the acrobat figurines, depicts a woman in a full arched bridge pose. Red wavy lines cross the thighs, hips and

Archaeology, University of Oxford, EA1891.91, is the torso of a figural handle, unpublished.

[40] Conveniently listed and discussed in Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery,* 160-8. For instance, men wrestling, harpers, a man with a dog. At least partially concurrent, is the tradition of small models in faience of similar activities. See in particular the detailed discussion of the figurines from Abydos tomb A'07 416 and parallels: Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 131-45.

[41] Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 46 (cat. no. 469) with illustration (as ÄM 14202); Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. IV, no. 974; Decker, Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport*, vol. I, 710-1; vol. II, pl. 391 (R.3.7, as ÄM 14202); Abdel-Raziq, *SAK* 45, 6, fig. 3.

[42] Now lost. von Bissing, *ZÄS* 37, 77 with illustration; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pl. 31; Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 90 (no. 3), pl. 85a; Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. IV, no. 973; Decker, Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport*, vol. I, 711; vol. II, pl. 391 (R.3.6, as ÄM 14570); Abdel-Raziq, *SAK* 45, 7-8, fig. 4.

[43] Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 59 (no. 371). Described but not illustrated in the section on toys.

[44] Abdel-Raziq, *SAK* 45, 1-9, pls. 1-2.

[45] Flinders Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 150, fig. 155.1.

[46] Reported in: von Bissing, *ZÄS* 37, 77; Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 90 (no. 3) and n. 29, supposedly in a letter to James Henry Breasted by Rudolf Anthes. We have been unable to verify this claim as any such figurines are not known to the current concession holders (Harco Willems, personal communication, November 2016).

[47] Peet, Loat, *Abydos*, vol. III, 27, fig. 12, pl. IX.2; Peet, *JEA* 1, 38; Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz*, 39-40, fig. 15; Keimer, *Remarques sur le Tatouage*, 17, pl. 11; Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 89, pls. 84a (reconstruction), 85b; Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. III, 98, pl. XL.5 (reconstruction); Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. IV, no. 972; Decker, Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport*, vol. I, 710; vol. II, pl. 391 (R3.6); Abdel-Raziq, *SAK* 45, 5, fig. 2. Fig. 10 of this paper appears by permission of the Brooklyn Museum.

Fig. 4 - Acrobat figurine (Berlin ÄM 14570). Photo © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Fig. 5 - Acrobat figurine (formerly Berlin Museum 14202). Photo © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

torso to indicate the short kilt and the body chains worn by ritual dancers.[48] The negative space between the body and the pedestal is cut away; only the negative space between the arms remains to add strength and stability to the composition.

The Brooklyn figurine is instructive for reconstructing the QH31 head; it is precisely this part of the composition – the head – which is missing (Pl. II.4). When found in tomb D303 at Abydos the figurine was in several fragments, the whole figurine broken from its pedestal and the body in pieces. Only the head section could not be restored. Significantly, the head has come away at the top of the neck and at the ends of the hair – the same break-points as on the QH31 head. Apart from the miniature fragment UC 59268, other known acrobat figurines range from 10.5 to 17.5 cm in length with the Brooklyn figurine being the largest. The diagonal length of the QH31 head (3.5 cm) suggests that it would have been one of the largest of its genre. The skilful modelling of the face and hair indicate that it would also have been one of the finest.

Abydos tomb D303, situated in the northern sector

[48] Grajetzki, *GM* 237, 21-4.

of the North Cemetery,[49] was a shaft tomb containing three chambers (one north, robbed; two south). The southern chambers had been broken through and the contents highly disturbed.[50] Nevertheless, the objects recovered form a homogeneous group comprising travertine and serpentine cosmetic jars, copper mirrors, gold and electrum amulets and a shell pendant, inlaid gold amulet tube, ivory pins and bracelets, and strings of carnelian and amethyst ball beads.[51] A silver mounted faience design scarab with scroll border was found in the tomb shaft[52] and an obsidian name scarab inscribed for the 'sealer' Sa-Inher within the southern chambers.[53] The material cannot be closely dated but is consistent with the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty.[54] The dating corresponds with material recovered from the sloping shaft (C0) in QH31 spanning the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty.

Two-dimensional depictions of acrobats

Tomb scenes of scantily clad energetic dancers were associated with Hathoric festivals since the Old Kingdom.[55] Acrobatic and gymnastic performers are depicted alongside dancers, musicians and cult officiants who clap, sing and shake their menat-collars and sistra in praise of Hathor in her various forms. During the New Kingdom acrobatic dancers are shown in graceful and naturalistic poses[56] when depicted performing gymnastic dances. However, it is during the Middle Kingdom that the nature of acrobatic dance changes from the high-kicks of the Old Kingdom. Two new elements are introduced, both of which require agility, strength and suppleness of the spine. The first is a pose in which the acrobat is depicted lying on her belly, head arched backwards and the soles of the feet almost touching the top of the head (Fig. 6).[57]

The second pose resembles the bridge or backwards arch in which the body is raised off the ground, with the back arched and supported on hands and feet. Middle Kingdom depictions of this pose suggest that the artists attempting to convey the dance move were unfamiliar with its anatomy so that shoulders and wrists are portrayed facing the wrong way, and the pose is stiff and awkward.[58] Middle Kingdom depictions of acrobats in the bridge pose come from three tombs at Beni Hasan: tomb 15 of Baket III[59] (Fig. 7), tomb 17 of Khety,[60] and tomb 3 of Khnumhotep II.[61]

The most interesting of these depictions is that of Khnumhotep II. It depicts five women dressed in kilts and wearing an upswept or conical hairstyle, which recalls that of the QH31 head, performing in front of a procession of men dragging the statue of the tomb owner in a naos to the tomb.[62] One pair perform a 'smiting of the enemy' pose, while the three others – in strip-cartoon fashion – appear to perform the stages of a back-flip: bending backwards; full bridge; recovery with arms raised (Fig. 8). Above this group is a hieroglyphic inscription: *t3w ḥr rd.wi,* 'air/wind/breath under the feet', perhaps alluding to the air beneath the body of the acrobat performing the somersault, spoken by the figure on the far left and addressed to the other performers. [63] An alternative interpretation reads the text label as: *ḥr rwdy*(*.i*) and *t3w*, translated as 'under my feet', referring to the smiting scene and 'wind', referring to the acrobatic scene. The whole scene has been interpreted as smiting enemies in the underworld and an allusion to Coffin Text 162 where the deceased has power over the Four Winds to provide the breath of life.[64]

[49] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 147, fig. 61.
[50] Peet, Loat, *Abydos*, vol. III, 26.
[51] Peet, Loat, *Abydo*s, vol. III, 27-8, pls. 8-9.
[52] Peet, Loat, *Abydos*, vol. III, 27, pl. IX.1.
[53] Brooklyn Museum, acc. no. 13.1028: Peet, Loat, *Abydos*, vol. III, 27, pls. IV.16, VIII.11; Martin, *Egyptian and Administrative Private-name Seals*, 100 (no. 1279).
[54] A similar conclusion is drawn by Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 149.
[55] Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 57-8; Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz*, 23-4; Kinney, *Dance*, 157-63.
[56] E.g. the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak: Decker, *Sports and Games*, 140, figs. 103-5, 108; Museo Egizio di Torino, Cat. 7052, ostracon probably from Deir el-Medina: Decker, *Sports and Games*, 138, fig. 101.
[57] Decker, *Sports and Games*, 137. Tomb 18 of Wahka II at Qau: Flinders Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 24; TT 60 of Senet: de Garis Davies, *Antefoḳer*, 10, pl. 15. In the latter, the dance is performed in the midst of a scene of harvesting grapes and the storage of grains, ingredients for wine and beer possibly for use in Hathoric festivities.
[58] Decker, *Sports and Games*, 138.
[59] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. 4.
[60] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. 13.
[61] Newberry, *Beni Hasan,* vol. I, pl. 29; Kanawati, Evans, *Beni Hassan*, vol. I, pl. 119.
[62] The similarities between the QH31 head and the images of acrobats in the tomb of Khnumhotep II, in terms of the upswept nature of the hair, its striation and the red band, are striking. In shape, the hairstyle also resembles the headdress worn by male *mww*-dancers.
[63] For a full discussion of this scene and its various interpretations see: Hudáková, *Representations of Women*, 277-8, 306-8, figs. 11.27-8.
[64] For a discussion of this scene with bibliography see: Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 58-9. Decker describes the scene as a mimetic dance, of a tree shaken by the wind: Decker, *Sports and Games*, 143, n. 24. He also sees this as a representation of a true bridge pose achieved by bending backwards, while other representations are the result of forward motion or hand-springs: Decker, *Sports and Games*, 138-9, 143.

Fig. 6 - Acrobatic dancers from the tomb of Wahka II at Qau. Top left: a dancer with feet almost touching her head. Published in: Flinders Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 24

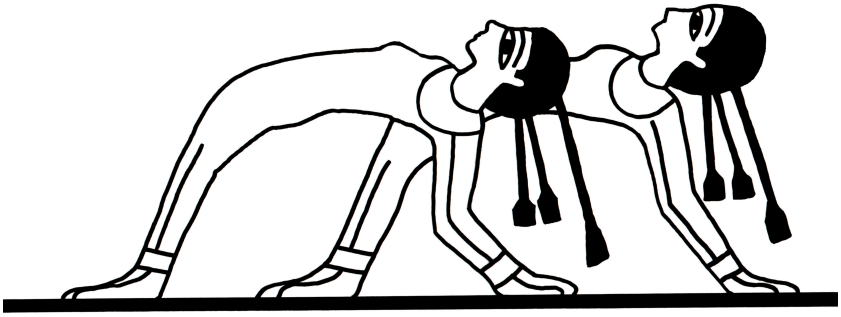


Fig. 7 - The bridge position, tomb 15 of Baket III at Beni Hasan. Redrawn from: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. 4

During the New Kingdom, tomb and temple scenes depict women in a bridge pose,[65] again associated with other figures who hold sistra and menat-collars,[66] reinforcing the Hathoric significance of performance involving flips and the bridge pose. Several such performers are depicted participating in the Heb-Sed festival, itself a ritual of rejuvenation. Ellen F. Morris has drawn attention to the genital exposure that ensues from dances that incorporate not only flips and bridge poses but also high-kicks.[67] She further convincingly argues that such dances allude to the uniting of Re with Hathor, a Ptolemaic Period cultic event held annually at Dendera[68] with its origins in an earlier tradition recorded in the Ramesside tale, 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth',[69] itself known from a similar tale in the Middle Kingdom.[70] In the tale, after receiving

[65] The difference between the bridge pose (static) and a somersault (active) is difficult to determine during the Middle Kingdom due to the conventions used to portray this new activity type. During the New Kingdom depictions are far more fluid and often depict acrobats facing the ground (rather than face uppermost) which suggests movement. See: Hudáková, *Representations of Women*, 261.

[66] E.g. TT 53 of Amenemhat (reign of Thutmosis III), PM I/1, 102; see also: Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances*, fig. 41.

[67] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 84-6.

[68] Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 89.

[69] pChester Beatty I, recto, 1.1 to 16-8.

[70] Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 120-1.

Fig. 8 - Three figures with upswept or conical hairstyles performing the stages of a backwards arch / somersault, tomb 3 of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan. Redrawn from: Kanawati, Evans, *Beni Hassan*, vol. I, pl. 119

an insult, the Lord of All (Re-Horakhti) withdraws to his tent and lies down in a sulk. There follows an extraordinary episode in which Hathor approaches her father and reveals her genitalia, causing him to laugh. This act of laughter brings about the god's restoration from inertia and depression to vitality.[71] The act of anasyrmenê (skirt-lifting) "seems to have served as etiology for why cultic performers and other women ritually revealed themselves in honor of the goddess"[72] and by association, alludes to the action of (re)vitalisation/(re)vivification. Images of dancers who perform such revealing dances, including figurines in the bridge pose, are intimately associated with Hathor, and through this association allude to her powers of (re)vitalisation.

Acrobat figurines are the realisation in three dimensions of painted and relief images of agile acrobatic performers. Unlike the graceful depictions of the New Kingdom, the late Middle Kingdom figurines and contemporary tomb scenes appear clumsy and awkward, as well as anatomically inaccurate in their portrayal of the bridge pose or somersault; knees are bent at right-angles, shoulders and wrists are positioned facing the wrong way, the stiff-necked head faces upwards and the arch of the bridge is flattened. In the above interpretation acrobats, in both media, allude to the crucial moment of genital exposure but neither depict this in its entirety;[73] it is not until the Greco-Roman Period that full genital exposure is depicted on figurines. Instead, the moment of revitalisation by this Hathoric "flash"[74] is intimated through the exoticism of the performers and the particular poses they adopt.

Conclusions

The purpose of acrobat figurines, far from being toys or objects for amusement, seems to stem from their association with Hathor. In her guise of daughter *par excellence*, Hathor performs for her father, a service which brings him back to functionality, a service which involves genital exposure. Acrobat and other types of figurine allude to this episode in the myth in order to bring about awakening and functionality to the non-royal dead of the Middle Kingdom. Although acrobat figurines are uncommon, when found in context (Abydos D303 and QH31), that context is the tomb of a high-status individual or one with access to wealth. By including an acrobat figurine in their burial assemblage, the original owner of the acrobat head from QH31 hoped to be revived like Re eternally.

Most of the material from the sloping corridor (C0) derives from the Middle Kingdom use of the tomb, with an admixture of other material from three different periods. For example, the deposits of the pottery within the tomb can be dated to two different periods: late Senwosret III and the Thirteenth Dynasty. The former date coincides with the death of Sarenput II, and the pottery confirms this. The tomb was still in active use however, as there are pottery sherds that go beyond the Twelfth Dynasty, indicating that the tomb was used again during the Thirteenth Dynasty. A third period of use is represented by early New Kingdom pottery (during the reigns of Thutmosis III and Hatshepsut, Eighteenth Dynasty). Late Period pottery within the tomb attests to a further re-use. The same chronological sequence can be seen in the fragments of anthropoid coffin faience inlays dating to the Middle Kingdom / Twelfth Dynasty, and the light blue faience beads dating to the end of the Fourteenth Century BC, during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton / Eighteenth Dynasty.

The limestone head is set within this disturbed context. Its internal features – the modelling of the face, ears and hair – indicate a late Middle Kingdom date. The unusual arrangement of the hair, the sharp break at the top of the neck and ends of the hair make a reconstruction of the head as part of a late Middle Kingdom acrobat figurine plausible. Thus, the artefacts recovered from the sloping corridor indicate the type and range of objects chosen, if not for Sarenput himself, then for members of the Elephantine elite interred in QH31, to facilitate their safe passage into the afterlife.

[71] pChester Beatty I, 4.1-3. For discussion see: Morris, in Schneider, Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories*, 198-9, 201-7.
[72] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 85. On the etiology of anasyrmenê in Egypt: Morris, in Schneider, Szpakowska, *Egyptian Stories*, 207-11, 215-21. One of Hathor's epithets is *nbt ḥtpt*, 'lady of the vulva': Kinney, *Dance*, 166.
[73] Images in both two- and three-dimensions depict acrobats with a short skirt or kilt. Although this splits at the front, it is not depicted as though revealing the genitals.
[74] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 85-6, 99.

Bibliography

Abdel-Raziq, A., "An Unpublished Small Sculpture of a Female Acrobat at the Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut", *SAK* 45 (2016), 1-9.

Alba Gómez, J.M., "Informe Preliminar de las Cerámicas Halladas en la Cámara de Enterramiento de Sarenput II en Qubbet el-Hawa" (in press).

Alba Gómez, J.M., "Periodos de Ocupación de la Tumba QH31 en Qubbet el-Hawa (Asuán) a Través del Estudio Preliminar de Algunas Cerámicas Procedentes de las Cámaras Funerarias" (in press).

Alba Gómez, J.M., "The Funerary Chambers of Sarenput II and the Destruction of his Outer Coffin", in A. Jiménez Serrano, A. Morales Rondán (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes in the Provinces of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt* (in press).

Arnold, Di., Do. Arnold, P.F. Dorman, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. I: *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York: PMMA 22, 1988).

Bleeker, C.J., *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden, 1973).

Bouriant, U., "Les Tombeaux d'Assouan", *RT* 10 (1888), 181–98.

Bourriau, J., *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988).

Bourriau, J., *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981).

Breasted, J.H., *Egyptian Servant Statues* (Washington: BS 13, 1948).

Brunner-Traut, E., *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* (Glückstadt: ÄF 6, 1958).

Budge, A.W., "Description of the Tombs of Mechu, Ben, and Se-Renpu, Discovered by Major-General Sir F. Grenfell", *PSBA* 9 (1887), 78-82.

Budge, A.W., "Excavations Made at Aswân by Major-General Sir F. Grenfell during the Years 1885 and 1886", *PSBA* 10 (1888), 4-40.

Carter, H., G. Legrain, "Report on the Work Done in Upper Egypt (1903–1904)", *ASAE* 6 (1905), 112-29.

Christie's, *Antiquities* (Rockefeller Center, New York, 8 June 2012).

Decker, W., *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1993).

Decker, W., M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, 2 vols. (Leiden: HdO 14, 1994).

de Garis Davies, N., *The Tomb of Antefoḳer, Vizier of Sesostris III, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (London: TTS 2, 1920).

de Morgan, J., U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, A. Barsanti, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Égypte Antique*, vol. I: *De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894).

Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, 1. Abteilung, aus dem Nachlass verfasst und herausgegeben von Karl-J. Seyfried und Gerd Vieler*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 2008).

Fay, B., "Missing Parts", in E. Goring, N. Reeves, J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred* (London, 1997), 97-112.

Fechheimer, H., *Kleinplastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1921).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Researches in Sinai* (New York, 1906).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Tools and Weapons Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London, and 2,000 Outlines from Other Sources* (London: BSAE 30, 1917).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Objects of Daily Use* (London: BSAE 42, 1927).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Antaeopolis: The Tombs of Qau* (London: BSAE 51, 1930).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt: Stone and Metal Vases* (London: BSAE 59, 1937).

Grajetzki, W., "Body Chains in Middle Kingdom Egypt", *GM* 237 (2013), 21-4.

Grajetzki, W., *Tomb Treasures of the Middle Kingdom: The Archaeology of Female Burials* (Philadelphia, 2014).

Harvey, J., "A Late Middle Kingdom Wooden Statue from Assiut in the Walters Art Gallery", *JWAG* 49/50 (1991/1992), 1-6.

Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum, vol. VI (London, 1922).

Hornemann, B., *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. IV (Copenhagen, 1966).

Hudáková, L., *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials: Studies in Iconography, Content and Status* (PhD thesis: University of Vienna, 2013).

Ingram, R.S., *Faience and Glass Beads from the Late Bronze Age Shipwreck at Uluburun* (MA thesis: Texas A&M University, 2005).

Jiménez Serrano, A., L. García Gonzalez, "Las Tumbas de los Gobernadores de Elefantina durante la Dinastía XII en Qubbet el-Hawa (Asuán): Una Evolución Tipológica de Carácter Local" (in press).

Jiménez Serrano, A., J.M. Alba Gómez, M.J. Ayora Cañada, V. Barba Colmenero, M. Botella López, A. Domínguez Vidal, L.M. García González, J.L. Martínez De Dios, A.J. Morales Rondán, A. Rubio Salvador, M.P. Paz Sáez-Pérez, Y. De La Torre Robles, T. López-Obregón Silvestre, "Proyecto

Qubbet el-Hawa: Las Tumbas nº 31, 34cc y 35p. Séptima Campaña (2015)", *BAEDE* 24 (2015), 7-88.

Kaiser, W., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin: Östlicher Stülerbau am Schloß Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1967).

Kamrin, J., *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (London: SIE, 1999).

Kanawati, N., L. Evans, *Beni Hassan*, vol. I: *The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford: ACER 36, 2014).

Keimer, L., *Remarques sur le Tatouage dans l'Égypte Ancienne* (Cairo: MIE 53, 1948).

Kemp, B., R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1980).

Kinney, L., *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford: BAR IS 1809, 2008).

Lansing, A., "The Egyptian Expedition 1916–1919. Part II: Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes. Season of 1918–19", *BMMA* 15/2 (July 1920), 11-24.

Lexová, I., *Ancient Egyptian Dances* (New York, 2000).

Martin, G.T., *Egyptian and Administrative Private-name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971).

Martínez Hermoso, J.A., *Representación Gráfica y Diseño de la Tumba de Sarenput II (QH31). Arquitectura Funeraria de la Necrópolis de Qubbet el-Hawa* (PhD thesis: University of Córdoba, 2017, http://hdl.handle.net/10396/14783 <accessed 26.09.2017>).

Maspero, G., "Aswân. 'Grenfell Tombs'", *BIE* II Sér. 7 (1886), 227-34.

Morris, E.F., "Sacred and Obscene Laughter in The Contendings of Horus and Seth, in Egyptian Inversions of Everyday Life, and in the Context of Cultic Competition", in T. Schneider, K. Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd* (Münster: AOAT 347, 2007), 197-224.

Morris, E.F., "Paddle Dolls and Performance", *JARCE* 47 (2011), 71-103.

Müller, H.W., *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches* (Glückstadt: ÄF 9, 1940).

Murray, M.A., "Fruits, Vegetables, Pulses and Condiments", in P. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 609-55.

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan*, vol. I (London: ASE 1, 1893).

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan*, vol. II (London: ASE 2, 1893).

Parkinson, R.B., *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London, 1991).

Peet, T.E., "The Year's Work at Abydos", *JEA* 1 (1914), 35-9.

Peet, T.E., W.L.S. Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, vol. III: *1912–1913* (London: MEEF 35, 1913).

Porter, B., R.L.B. Moss, J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 8 vols. (Oxford: 1927–2012).

Richards, J., *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2005).

Rigault, P., "À propos d'un Ornement Frontal Rencontré sur des Masques de Momies de Mirgissa", *CRIPEL* 30 (2013-2015), 233-48.

Rogge, E., *Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: CAA Vienna 6, 1990).

Schiestl, R., A. Seiler, *Handbook of the Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I: *The Corpus Volume* (Vienna: DGÖAW 72, 2012).

Seiler, A., *Grab und Kult: zwei ungestörte Schachtgräber in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* (Heidelberg, 1993).

Steindorff, G., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946).

Valbelle, D., "Témoignages du Nouvel Empire sur les Cultes de Satis et d'Anoukis à Éléphantine et à Deir el-Médineh", *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 123-45.

Vandier, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III: *Les Grandes Époques: La statuaire égyptienne* (Paris, 1958).

von Bissing, W., "Eine altägyptische Mädchentracht", *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 75-8.

Wallert, I., *Der verzierte Löffel: seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 16, 1967).

Wildung, D., S. Schoske, *Nofret die Schöne*: *Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1984).

Williams, B. B., *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan* (Chicago: OINE 6, 1992).

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 15-23

Burial Customs of the Elite of Elephantine in the Second Half of the Twelfth Dynasty*

Luisa M. García González and Alejandro Jiménez Serrano

Abstract
The recent archaeological works by the University of Jaén have allowed us to compare different burial equipment used during the Twelfth Dynasty. The general intact state of these burial sites has made it possible to observe changes which happened in burial customs during the mid–late Middle Kingdom. It is well known that from the mid-Twelfth Dynasty some important innovations affected the burial equipment. Namely, Coffin Texts were no longer written inside the coffins, wooden models disappeared from the funerary goods and the first anthropoid coffins were manufactured. It is the latter element which is discussed in light of the recently-discovered burials at Qubbet el-Hawa. The coffins presented in the present paper belonged to the highest level of Elephantine society, a town which was at the periphery of the country. In this sense, it seems very likely that the religious and the artistic influences from the Residence would have taken more time to be adopted by the local elite or that customs were adapted according to local circumstances.

Introduction

In 2008, the University of Jaén began an archaeological project in the funerary complexes in the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa dating to the Twelfth Dynasty. At that time, there were six identified funerary complexes, QH30, QH31, QH32, QH33, QH34 and QH36, and four tombs, QH27, QH28, QH35l and QH35p, believed to belong to that period, but only through archaeological excavation would it be possible to confirm their supposed Middle Kingdom date. In addition, in the course of the excavation two new Middle Kingdom tombs were discovered, QH34aa and QH34bb.

Of these, only QH28 and QH34 (Pl. III) have been completely excavated previously, by Elmar Edel.[1] In contrast, QH30, QH31, QH32 and QH36 were only partially cleared in the last years of the Nineteenth and throughout the Twentieth Centuries, which essentially means that their funerary shafts have never been excavated.[2] The remaining complexes/tombs, QH27, QH33 and QH35p, plus the newly discovered tombs, have remained untouched since ancient times.

During ten archaeological campaigns (2008–2018), the University of Jaén team has successfully completed the excavation of six tombs: QH31, QH33 (recently finished), QH34, QH34aa, QH34bb and QH35p. Currently, we are still working in QH32 and QH36.[3]

Although all of these tombs belong to the Twelfth Dynasty, our analysis of the archaeological material has enabled a more precise chronology for the excavated tombs and for those still in the process of excavation. Thus, the earliest tombs are QH35p (end of the First Intermediate Period to beginning of the Middle Kingdom), QH36 (dated to the reign of Senwosret I[4]), QH34bb (most likely from the reign of Amenemhat II to Senwosret III), QH31 (contemporary to Senwosret II and Senwosret III), and the rest dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty (mainly from Amenemhat III) and perhaps the earliest years of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Description of the ideal iconographic representation of the deceased in the Middle Kingdom

It seems that during the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty, Egyptian officials started to be buried with a mummy mask made of cartonnage,[5] although these

*The present article was funded by the MINECO, as a part of the Project HAR2016-75533-P. "Excavación, estudio histórico y conservación de las tumbas del Reino Medio de la necropolis de Qubbet el-Hawa (Asuán, Egipto)".

[1] See: Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*.

[2] See: Budge, *PSBA* 10, 4-40.

[3] Archaeological reports have been published in Spanish in the *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* (*BAEDE* onwards) since 2008. A complete translation into French is being prepared by Professor Juan Carlos Sánchez León (University of Jaén).

[4] García González, *Sarenput I* (with references).

[5] In the present paper, this kind of funerary object has been distinguished using two different terms for depending of its length over the mummy. On the one hand, there is the cartonnage mask, which could extend approximately as far as the waist of the mummy. On the other hand, there is the

had first appeared at the end of the Old Kingdom.[6] The mummy mask was made of linen stiffened with plaster and this allowed it to be modelled in the shape of the owner's face.[7] Such masks were unlikely to be portraits per se, but general representations of the deceased with recognizable facial features. There are different versions of this kind of mask, but its most general characteristics can be defined thus:

- Long wig. It is usually a tripartite long wig. For some examples, the deceased was represented wearing a head cloth with a lined pattern imitating the royal *nemes*-headdress. This might be understood as an attempt to represent the symbolic identification of the deceased with Osiris, the king in the Netherworld.[8]
- Beard. Another element that was not always shown on masks is the projecting false-beard. This might be short and square, long and square or in the Osirian style, which has a curled end. In some cases, the deceased is also represented with a moustache.
- Yellow-painted skin. As is well known, yellow was the colour used to represent the skin of divinities, as they were made of gold.[9] When this colour was used for human individuals, it clearly showed the divine character acquired by the deceased in the afterlife. However, there are several examples in which the skin of the mask is painted black. This colour was used to represent the black and fertile agricultural fields of Egypt. Thus, when this colour was used to paint the skin of the deceased, it was meant to connect him to his regeneration in the afterlife and his identification with Osiris.[10] In some cases this association might be refuted; however, discussion of this is beyond the focus of the present article.
- Broad necklace. This is a broad necklace made of several rows of tubular beads with drop-shaped beads in the outer border. Although there are some variants, the commonest type has a combination of blue, green and red colours. The three colours have positive connotations of regeneration and protection, and most likely represent the gemstones lapis lazuli, turquoise and carnelian respectively.[11] From the Middle Kingdom it took the name of *wsḫ*[12] and it was during the Twelfth Dynasty that falcon heads were added instead of semi-circular ends.[13]
- Choker with the *swrt*[14]-bead as a single pendant. There are some masks that show two *swrt*-beads instead of only one. The actual jewel was made of carnelian. Its red colour made this gemstone a symbol of life and an apotropaic amulet.[15] In general terms, the *swrt*-bead was an elongated barrel-shaped bead, usually found on the neck of mummies, anthropoid coffins or, as in the cases under discussion, represented on statues and cartonnage masks.[16] This bead was flanked by two cylindrical or spherical beads made of faience, and all of them were pierced by a single string.[17] In fact, its precise position around the neck or on the throat, as well as the protective raw material of this kind of bead, has given rise to the suggestion that it was an amulet to protect against snake bites,[18] probably linked to the power of Serqet.[19] It is most likely that the *swrt*-bead came from a common Prehistoric amulet which had similar features.[20]

During the Middle Kingdom these masks, of which some examples were shrouds, were replaced by the anthropoid inner coffins, which became more common

cartonnage shroud, which covered the mummy beyond the waist or even completely.

[6] Casini, in Chyla *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016*, 58; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 31.

[7] Casini, in Chyla *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016*, 58; Hayes, *Scepter*, vol. I, 309.

[8] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 27. It has to be said that this element, together with its variants, became more usual with rishi coffins in the Second Intermediate Period. For that, see: Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 27-30.

[9] Robins, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak*, 49.

[10] Robins, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak*, 49.

[11] For an extended explanation about the association of these gemstones with those colours, see: Robins, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak*, 48.

[12] *Wb* I, 365; Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, 734.

[13] Feucht, in *LÄ*, vol. II, 933-5. When the *wsḫ*-collar has falcon-head terminals it takes the name *wḫh-n-bik* (Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 735).

[14] *Wb* IV, 71; Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 2142-3. It must be borne in mind that the word *swrt* comes from the verb *swr* 'drink' (Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 2140). According to Wolfram Grajetzki (*Tomb Treasures*, 27) this bead was perhaps an amulet to guarantee the deceased's ability to drink, and eat too, in the afterlife. On the other hand, *swrt* has two entries in Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 2142-3. The first one is translated as 'pill (to swallow)' and the second is that of 'bead'. Anyway, there is a clear connection between the actions of drinking or swallowing a pill and the position of the bead, as all these words are linked to the throat (see below n. 19).

[15] Robins, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak*, 49.

[16] Krah, in *LÄ*, vol. IV, 940; Andrews, *Amulets*, 99.

[17] Aldred, *Jewels*, 36; Krah, in *LÄ*, vol. IV, 940.

[18] Andrews, *Amulets*, 99.

[19] Serqet, as 'the lady of bites', had the ability to treat the bites of poisonous animals, hence the meaning of her epithet 'she who allows the throat to breathe', because she gave breath to people strangled by the action of the venom toxin. For a more detailed description of the goddess, see: von Känel, in *LÄ*, vol. V, 831-2.

[20] Aldred, *Jewels*, 36.

during the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom.[21]

As is well-known, the mummy mask, as well as the anthropoid coffin, gave the deceased his *sʿḥ*-form appearance, which was the ideal representation of the embalmed body or mummy. Therefore, the defunct was closer to Osiris and thus gained divine qualities.[22] Moreover, the relationship of Osiris with the deceased became even closer with the development of the expression 'the Osiris of X (name of the defunct)'.[23]

First phase: the presence of Coffin Texts and decoration on the inner walls of the inner coffin

As briefly mentioned previously, this paper analyses the evolution of the burial equipment at Qubbet el-Hawa from the finds made by the team of the University of Jaén during the last ten archaeological seasons. From the material evidence, we have identified a first phase composed of a set of double rectangular wooden coffins, an outer and an inner, which contained the mummy, in some cases adorned with a cartonnage mask.

This initial phase presents a paradigm at Qubbet el-Hawa with the burial of the governor of Elephantine, Sarenput II (Senwosret II and Senwosret III). He was buried in the funerary complex numbered today as QH31. The recent excavations carried out in the funerary shafts and chambers have brought to light different and interesting fragments of his burial equipment.[24] In short, Sarenput II interment was typical for a high status burial, which included wooden models and a set of two cedar coffins. Although it has been impossible to confirm whether the mummy had a cartonnage mask, some fragments of this material were found in the vicinity of the burial chamber. If the mummy of Sarenput II had been adorned with a cartonnage mask, it was likely to have been very similar to the six Osiride statues located in the corridor of his funerary chapel. Doubtless they represented Sarenput II as the ideal mummy given their Osirian appearance. These sculptures were inserted into niches and then fixed to the rock.[25] Although only one of the statues was decorated and identified with his name and main titles, it seems very likely that the original plan was also to decorate the rest, but, as in other parts of the tomb, the decoration was never finished (Pl. IV.1).

However, it is not possible to leave this phase at Qubbet el-Hawa without mentioning the recently discovered burial of the brother of Sarenput II, (Ii)-Shemai.[26] He was buried in a secondary shaft in tomb QH34bb with every object typical of the funerary equipment for this period, i.e. a double set of rectangular coffins, wooden models, cartonnage mask, some pottery and other prestige goods. As with the coffin of his brother, his inner wooden coffin also had decoration and was prepared to receive texts. Perhaps this was never written because he died suddenly.

With regard to Egypt, it is worthwhile mentioning the burial equipment of the *ḫry-ḥbt* 'lector priest' Gemni, who was buried in the tomb of Gemniemhat at Sakkara and which is currently kept in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen).[27] Gemni was a high court official who lived during the reign of Amenemhat I (*c*. 1990 BC).[28] He was buried with a mummy mask made of cartonnage, thus being represented as the ideal mummified Osiris, including a necklace made of two *swrt*-beads flanked by two tubular beads. His mummy was laid laterally inside a rectangular coffin made of cedar wood with a yellow background and inscribed with blue painted hieroglyphs. This has only one horizontal line of inscription on the upper part and no columns at all. It has the *wḏ3t*-eyes without the palace-façade. The interior walls of the coffin were decorated with a frieze of objects as well as some written texts. This coffin was inside an outer coffin, found completely destroyed.[29]

Second phase: the disappearance of the Coffin Texts as a new phase in burial traditions

It seems that a new phase might be seen in tomb QH33, which dates to the early years of the reign of

[21] Casini, in Chyla *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016*, 63; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 31.

[22] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 45; Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 20. In fact, the original meaning of the word *sʿḥ* was 'worthy, distinguished, nobleman, official', and linked words (see: Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 2112-6). Most probably, only wealthy people could afford the correct burial rituals to achieve the *sʿḥ* state. It could also be possible that the deceased was considered part of Osiris' entourage in the afterlife, just as he was in the entourage of the king during his lifetime. For this, see: Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 45.

[23] Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 19.

[24] Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 24, 12-3.

[25] Martínez Hermoso, *La Tumba de Sarenput II (QH31)*, 290; Alba gómez, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales Rondán (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes*.

[26] This was found during the archaeological season of 2017 by the team of the University of Jaén. The owner of that burial is a man named (Ii)-Shemai and from his parents' names, it seems he was the brother of Sarenput II. The chronology should be more or less the same (from the reigns of Amenemhat II to Senwosret III).

[27] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 1625; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 146-7 (cat. no. 58).

[28] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 150 (cat. no. 59); Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 30.

[29] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 140-3 (cat. no. 56).

Amenemhat III.[30] The main characteristic of this new phase is the absence of the Coffin Texts on the interior of the funerary boxes. In two different chambers, two burials were found. One of them, the priest Khema, was buried inside a chamber in the southern wall of the funerary chapel.[31] The second is a woman, 'lady' Gaut-Anuqet, who was buried in one of the two chambers constructed at the bottom of the southern shaft of the same funerary complex.[32] Both have in common that they were buried inside a set of two rectangular wooden coffins, but without a cartonnage mask or shroud. Their bodies were just wrapped in fine linen bandages.

Both burials might be considered high status burials of the late Twelfth Dynasty. It seems very likely that Khema and Gaut-Anuqet were members of the ruling family of Elephantine, because both were interred inside QH33 with high quality funerary goods. Concerning the types of wood used for the coffins, it is possible to confirm that some mid-late Middle Kingdom cases discovered at Qubbet el-Hawa were made of *Cedrus libani*, clearly evidencing that the elite of Elephantine had access to this valuable wood.[33] However, it is important to note that some local specificity has been found in the burials such as, for example, the complete absence of canopic equipment and no trace of evisceration of the bodies for this period.

Moreover, the University of Jaén team has recently finished the excavation of a burial chamber containing several untouched burials. During the 2016 and 2017 seasons, an intact funerary chamber was excavated in the tomb catalogued as QH34aa, which was occupied by ten high-ranking individuals who lived in the first half of Amenemhat III's reign. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the majority of the coffins was very poor, but good enough to know the main characteristics of the burials. This second phase has been also detected in the earliest two burials in this tomb, which were put inside a double set of coffins. The singularity of these burials is that both were females. One was for the Lady Sattjeni A (or individual no. 1), who was buried inside two rectangular coffins with a cartonnage shroud covering her mummy up to her pelvis. The other burial was for an individual (no. 3) also buried inside two rectangular coffins with a cartonnage mask.[34] It is noticeable that the inner coffin belonging to Lady Sattjeni A was constructed with wood from the same tree as that of the priest Khema, who was buried in neighboring QH33. Such an association allows us to situate both burials in the same time period.

Third phase: from a double coffin assemblage to a single rectangular coffin and the body with a cartonnage mask or shroud

A third phase has been detected at Qubbet el-Hawa. It represents a simpler burial when compared with earlier examples. This third phase is characterized by a single rectangular coffin and the body with a cartonnage mask or shroud.

A local example of this third phase is the burial of Heqaib III, one of Sarenput II's successors, who lived during the first half of the reign of Amenemhat III.[35] He was found in a funerary chamber of the southern and secondary shaft situated in QH33 during the archaeological season of 2013, just in front of Gaut-Anuqet's chamber.[36] The archaeological evidence allows us at least to suggest how the body of Sarenput II might originally have appeared. Heqaib III was buried with a knee-length cartonnage shroud which displayed different elements, such as a tripartite long wig painted with wide blue lines in different tonalities and alternating thin black lines. The beard was also painted in blue. A hole in its chin suggests that Heqaib's mask once sported a false-beard, although it is impossible to confirm whether it was long or short. In fact, there was no trace of it due to the poor state of conservation of the majority of the burial equipment.

Heqaib's cartonnage shroud was decorated with a broad collar together with the *swrt*-bead pendant. It should be noted here that a thin layer of bandages, excluding the face, covered the cartonnage shroud. Doubtless, the funerary appearance of Heqaib III recalls the six statues found in the tomb of Sarenput II (Pl. IV.1-2).

The similarities between the decorated statue of Sarenput II and the cartonnage shroud of Heqaib III are clearly visible. Both are wearing a wig, a painted and modelled Osirian false-beard,[37] a *swrt*-bead choker and *wsḫ*-collar. However, there is a notable difference between them: Sarenput's statue has a column of

[30] Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 22, 20-9.

[31] Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 23, 16-23. Not to be confused with the governor Khema, father of Sarenput II. The priest Khema lived at least two generations later than his namesake.

[32] Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 22, 25-9.

[33] For cedar wood, see: Gale, Gasson, Hepper, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Materials and Technology*, 349-50.

[34] Although this burial is still under study, it must be anticipated that the coffins were prepared for a man named Dedutjeni, but the occupant was a young woman, whose identity remains unknown.

[35] Franke, *Das Heiligtum*, 49 (tab. 2).

[36] Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 22, 29-31; Jiménez Serrano *et al*., *BAEDE* 23, 23.

[37] Although the false-beard of Heqaib III was never found, there was a hole under the chin indicating the presence of this element too. However, the poor conservation state probably made that element mix with the whole, making its identification impossible.

hieroglyphic text in which his main titles and filiation are mentioned, in contrast to the absence of text on Heqaib's cartonnage shroud. It is impossible to confirm, had Sarenput II been buried with a cartonnage mask or shroud, if the latter would have been decorated with text like the statue. If Sarenput II had been buried in this way, we have just to accept that, for unknown reasons, this element was not added when Heqaib III's cartonnage mask was manufactured.

In tomb QH34aa, individual no. 7 was buried in a similar way to Heqaib III. This individual could not be identified due to the poor condition of his coffin, which was completely destroyed by termites. However, it was possible to confirm that he was buried inside a single rectangular coffin. One interesting point is that it was also possible to identify that the deceased was once adorned with a complete shroud made of cartonnage decorated with a floral pattern but without a single line of text. By virtue of the shroud it can be said that the deceased was represented as the ideal *sꜥḥ*-form, with elements such as a wig, gilded skin, painted beard with an inserted Osirian false-beard, *swrt*-bead and *wsḫ*-collar. Taking into account its location just inside the chamber at the entrance, and with its west-east orientation and rare prone position of the body for this period, it is most likely that this burial was disturbed at some point.[38]

In the same tomb (QH34aa), individual no. 8 was buried with a shabti, the only one found in the chamber, which again shows close similarities to the statue of Sarenput II and the cartonnage shroud of Heqaib III. This statuette mentions the name of its owner: Sarenput, born of Neferethesu. It was inside a miniature coffin, which perfectly reproduces the full-size funerary containers of this period, i.e. a single rectangular wooden coffin and a cartonnage shroud. Again, the representation of the shabti clearly reproduces most of the elements seen in the mummiform statues of Sarenput II and the cartonnage shroud (Pl. IV.3) of Heqaib III, in other words, the ideal representation of Osiris. It clearly reproduces the burial of its owner: a single box-shaped coffin containing the body covered by a cartonnage shroud.

There are several examples of this third phase that have been found throughout Egypt, albeit with some differences:

The tomb of Wah (MMA 1102, Pl. V.1), which was found in the tomb complex of Meketra (TT 280) sited in Southern Asasif (West Thebes) by the MMA mission in 1920.[39] His cartonnage mask is currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[40] This is made mainly of cartonnage, although it also has gold foil on the face. Regarding its chronology, it has been dated to early in the reign of Amenemhat I. It seems that Wah was the 'overseer of the storehouse' of the 'royal estate manager' Meketra, which is why his tomb was located inside the funerary complex of the latter. Although Wah was not buried with elaborate funerary equipment, the jewelry that he wore is that of a wealthy man, such as his silver scarab.[41] As is usual with masks, he is represented as the ideal *sꜥḥ*-form. However, he is not wearing a *swrt*-bead pendant. The mask was inside an outer rectangular coffin made of cedar wood, with painted hieroglyphs in blue over a yellow background and *wḏ3t*-eyes but no palace-façade.[42]

Another good example is the burial equipment of Khnumhotep, now kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[43] He held the title *ỉmy-r pr* 'estate manager', and probably lived during the period between the reigns of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III. It seems very likely that the equipment was found by Sayyid Pasha Khashaba at Meir in 1912. The mummy of Khnumhotep is still in its original position in the coffin. His cartonnage mask has a gilded face and it is noteworthy that the mask has a uraeus, a royal attribute. Among other remarkable details are the eyes of the mask, made separately of obsidian and ebony and inlaid into the mask. As was the rule, the deceased was represented as a divine entity, which means as an Osiris, who was placed inside a rectangular coffin with standardized outer inscriptions.

The final phase: the appearance of the anthropoid coffin

It is difficult to establish the exact moment when wooden anthropoid coffins appeared. The available data seem to date the oldest examples in the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III. Their origins lay with the cartonnage shroud that enclosed the whole body, as in the case of the princess Ashayet (reign of

[38] The body position of the deceased during the Twelfth Dynasty was left lateral with a north-south direction when possible. This pattern changed to a supine position from the end of the Middle Kingdom to the time of the Second Intermediate Period. For further discussion on this see: Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects*, 1-20.

[39] Arnold, Oppenheim, in Oppenheim *et al*. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 313.

[40] Acc. no. 40.3.54; Roehrig, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 234.

[41] Ben-Tor, in Oppenheim *et al*. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 138-9.

[42] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545123 <accessed 06.10.2017>.

[43] Acc. no. 12.182.131a-c; Allen, in Oppenheim *et al*. (eds.) *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 233-4.

Mentuhotep II).[44] One of the main characteristics of early anthropoid coffins is their thinness, probably because they were imitating the previous cartonnage shrouds.

At least at Qubbet el-Hawa, the situation begins to change at the end of the reign of Amenemhat III. The burial of another individual called Sarenput dates back to that time, but in this case he was the son of a lady named Sattjeni (perhaps one of the two women found in QH34aa bearing this name). This member of the ruling family of Elephantine was buried in a single rectangular coffin, which displays an uncommon use of textual composition and decoration. There are few examples of this type of coffin, which doubtless represent a funerary innovation which was in turn substituted by another type of burial, which falls beyond the present investigation.

However, the burial of Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, is of interest mainly because of the presence of a shabti and how the deceased was equipped for the afterlife. The figure, made of green marble with a gilded face, was found inside an anthropoid coffin (Pl. V.2). In contrast to the shabti of Sarenput, son of Neferethesu, which was provided with a miniature rectangular coffin typical of full-size examples of the period, the shabti of Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, rested inside a miniature anthropoid coffin, which clearly announces the end of one tradition of Middle Kingdom burial practices in favor of a new one.

As is very well known, the appearance of anthropoid coffins in Egypt was earlier than at Qubbet el-Hawa. In this respect, there are several examples that already date to the reign of Senwosret III.

One of the most relevant examples is that of the anthropoid inner coffin of Userhet in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[45] This inner coffin comes from tomb 132 at Beni Hassan. Userhet was a provincial official who served under Senwosret III.[46] As seen with the other examples, he is represented as the ideal mummy, although his skin is painted black. He wears the *swrt*-bead and the *wsḫ*-collar with round ends. There is a band of painted hieroglyphic text on the anthropoid coffin which identifies him as 'the Osiris soldier, Userhet'[47]. This coffin was found inside a rectangular wooden coffin, now in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool.[48]

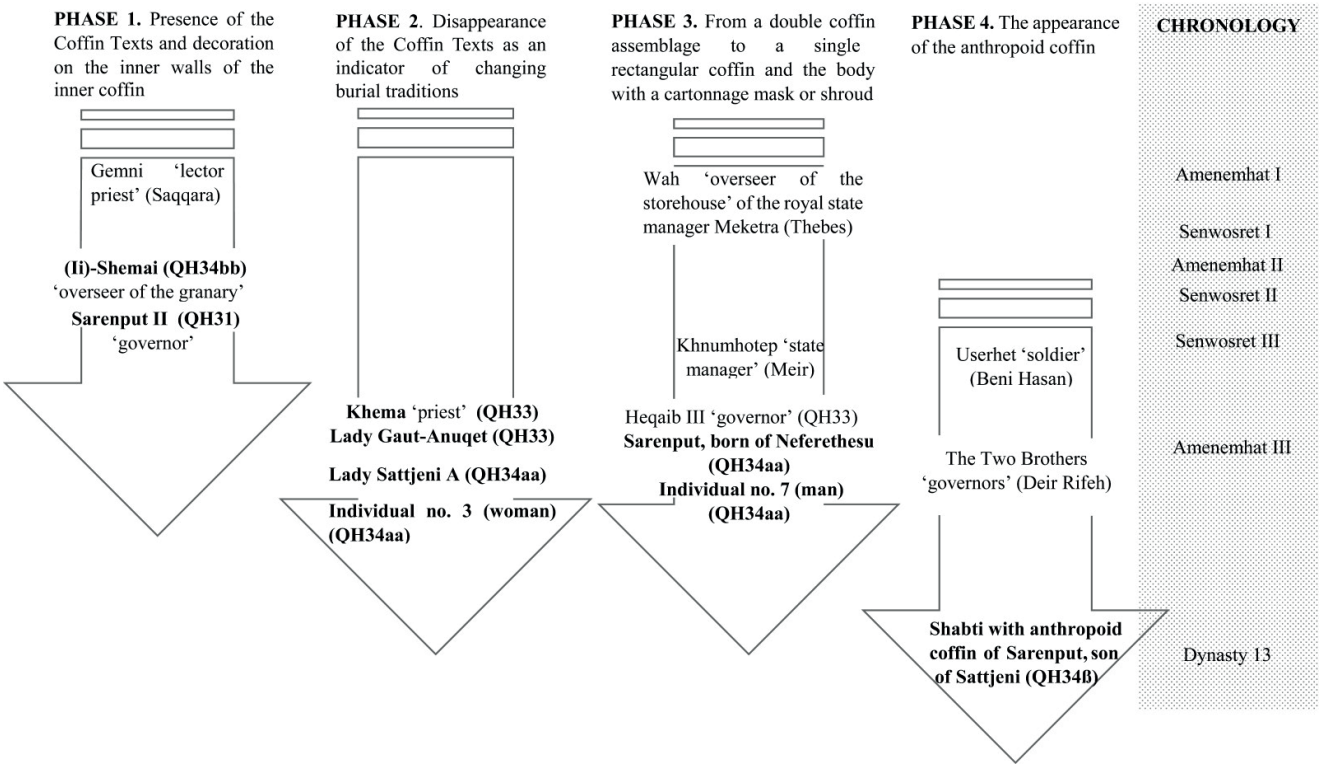
It is also worth mentioning for this phase the anthropoid coffins of the so-called Two Brothers in the Manchester Museum, The University of Manchester.[49] These two coffins were found at Deir Rifeh in 1907 during excavations carried out by William Matthew Flinders Petrie. The tomb, excavated in the rock, was made for two individuals, Khnum-nakhet and Nakhet-ankh, who lived during the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty. Both were buried in a double coffin; the inner anthropoid coffin[50] in which they were placed on their left sides, and the outer rectangular coffin.[51] These rectangular coffins are very similar and their main feature might be seen as their over-decoration. According to their style, it has been said that they were made in Rifeh but with a strong influence from Asyut's workshops.[52] Both anthropoid inner coffins represent the owner as the ideal deceased, as cartonnage masks had done before. Nevertheless, it is interesting to highlight that both anthropoid coffins have a single column of text and three horizontal bands over a painted floral pattern background that clearly recall the floral pattern documented on the cartonnage shroud of individual no. 7 of QH34aa.

General overview

As is well known, funerary rituals were continuously being renovated in ancient Egypt. More specifically, it is interesting to note that there was a clear tendency throughout the Twelfth Dynasty to identify the deceased with the funerary god Osiris. Hence, Osiris becomes increasingly related to the deceased's name. In this context, the cartonnage mask gained significance during this period, because it resembles the deceased with Osiris. With the reproduction of his appearance, the individual hoped to enjoy a re-birth. It is well known that the cartonnage mask, followed by the shroud, was the precedent of the anthropoid coffin, but with the recently discovered archaeological data presented here, it is possible to offer an explanation of the development process – at least at Qubbet el-Hawa – using different funerary objects perfectly contextualized and clearly dated.

The unique opportunity of being able to study many examples dated to the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty in the necropolis at Qubbet el-Hawa, many of them from intact contexts, sheds light on how changes in burial practices were taking place at Elephantine. It would have been tempting to generalize these changes as applying to the rest of Egypt or at least the

[44] Hayes, *Scepter*, vol. I, 310.
[45] Acc. no. E.88.1903; Strudwick, Dawson, *Death on the Nile*, 162.
[46] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III, 31.
[47] As has been mentioned before, the inclusion of 'the Osiris' in offering formulae is the final approach to the Osiris identification during the Middle Kingdom.
[48] Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool E.512.
[49] Murray, *Two Brothers*; David, *The Two Brothers*.
[50] Acc. no. 4739 and no. 4740.
[51] Acc. nos. 4724a-b and nos. 4725a-b.
[52] David, *The Two Brothers*, 46-7.


PHASE 1. Presence of the Coffin Texts and decoration on the inner walls of the inner coffin
Gemni 'lector priest' (Saqqara)
(Ii)-Shemai (QH34bb)
'overseer of the granary'
Sarenput II (QH31)
'governor'
PHASE 2. Disappearance of the Coffin Texts as an indicator of changing burial traditions
Khema 'priest' (QH33)
Lady Gaut-Anuqet (QH33)
Lady Sattjeni A (QH34aa)
Individual no. 3 (woman) (QH34aa)
PHASE 3. From a double coffin assemblage to a single rectangular coffin and the body with a cartonnage mask or shroud
Wah 'overseer of the storehouse' of the royal state manager Meketra (Thebes)
Khnumhotep 'state manager' (Meir)
Heqaib III 'governor' (QH33)
Sarenput, born of Neferethesu (QH34aa)
Individual no. 7 (man) (QH34aa)
PHASE 4. The appearance of the anthropoid coffin
Userhet 'soldier' (Beni Hasan)
The Two Brothers 'governors' (Deir Rifeh)
Shabti with anthropoid coffin of Sarenput, son of Sattjeni (QH34ß)
CHRONOLOGY
Amenemhat I
Senwosret I
Amenemhat II
Senwosret II
Senwosret III
Amenemhat III
Dynasty 13

Graphic 1 - Evolution of the Middle Kingdom funerary equipment at Qubbet el-Hawa

neighboring areas, but it seems that it is the result of a local process rather than a widespread trend.

Therefore, an evident variability has been detected in the number of coffins used to keep the body of the deceased between the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty and the end of the reign of Amenemhat III. Thus, the burial of Heqaib III contrasts with that of Sarenput II. Both were governors, but the former was buried inside a single coffin. At first glance this difference might be interpreted in different ways, for example, it could be as a consequence of a precipitant burial after a sudden death. In fact, Heqaib III was around twenty-eight years old when he passed away.[53] But the discovery in tomb QH34aa during the last archaeological seasons of six examples contemporary with Heqaib III, as well as the shabti with its single coffin, invites an understanding of the single coffin burial as the result of a ritual innovation, or more specifically, a simplification of the funerary equipment.[54] Therefore, the large quantity of cases – six – dated to the same period (beginning of Amenemhat III) seems to show the existence of a specific type of burial in that period, which reduced the number of containers from two to a single wooden coffin.

It is impossible to conclude if this change is related to a decrease in the resources of the local elite after the administrative reform under Senwosret III or if it is a consequence of the simplification apparent in burial customs at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Perhaps the latter option seems more likely because not much later than the interment of Heqaib III, as has been mentioned already, 'lady' Gaut-Anuqet's burial contained, as the surviving evidence shows, a finer range of funerary equipment (Grajetzki's Type I or 'court type burials')[55], which included a set of double coffins.[56]

But the latter case might be one of the last of this type at Qubbet el-Hawa as the burials in tomb QH34aa have shown. In the burial chamber, the aforementioned six individuals with single-coffin burials were of both genders and had very modest burials, although it is necessary to remember that the cedar wood from which some coffins were made, the quality of the bandages and the situation of the tomb beside the funerary

[53] Jiménez Serrano *et al.*, *BAEDE* 23, 27.

[54] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 15-6.

[55] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, 147.

[56] Moreover, neither can it be concluded that the step from a double coffin burial to a single coffin burial was not abrupt, because there is at least one interment posterior to Heqaib III in a double coffin set, that of 'lady' Gaut-Anuqet mentioned before, who might have been a close relative of the governor because she was buried in a chamber opposite his. Therefore, we have to assume that there was no abrupt change in funerary customs, but a transition in which both types of interments coexisted, ending with the clear disappearance of the double coffin assemblage in favor of the single.

complexes of the governors make it unlikely that these six individuals did not have the resources to be buried with the kinds of funerary equipment in keeping with their social position. Therefore, it should be explained as a local type of interment characterized by the use of a single coffin. These types of interments continued to be used as the burial of Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, shows. Effectively, he was buried in a coffin, with a cartonnage shroud and with a shabti, which was inside its own coffin, but this time one with an anthropoid shape, clearly announcing the last stages of the rectangular coffin tradition and the positioning of the body in lateral decubitus.

The differences apparent in the burial equipment of Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, might indicate that the coffin was made in a different workshop than his shabti, because they represent different conceptions of burial, which confirms perfectly that we are looking at the end of a long process during which burial customs had been changing since the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Conclusions

From all the data advanced in this paper, we can propose two general conclusions.

On the one hand, the funerary appearance of the deceased, achieved physically with cartonnage masks and shrouds, or represented iconographically by objects such as funerary statues, is linked to the deceased's state as a divine entity in the afterlife. It is true that only wealthy individuals could leave this kind of physical-'archaeological' evidence in the funerary sphere, such as statues in tombs or cartonnage masks and shrouds on the mummy itself. Because of that, one may think that this kind of representation is only closely related to higher positions in Egyptian society. However, this is not true. Moreover, there are also examples of women buried with similar features to men. There is also evidence to show that royal relatives, court officials, nomarchs, members of the governor's court and even women were represented in the same way, as a deceased person who has reached the divine state in the afterlife. Osiris was the god and King of the afterlife, who died and was re-born after the performance of magical rituals. By means of copying his appearance, the individual hoped to reach and repeat his own rebirth. In connection with this, it might be seen how the deceased is called 'Osiris' as a distinctive epithet before his/her proper name in funerary formula during the Twelfth Dynasty.

On the other hand, this study has shown how the evolution of the funerary equipment at Elephantine was quite different to that in the rest of Egypt. The distance between the First Nome of Upper Egypt and the Residence, which had moved from Thebes to the north during the reign of Amenemhat I, as well as any contact with the latter's artistic and craft influences, meant that a prevailing Residence fashion in burial customs arrived sometime later to Elephantine than in other parts of the country. Moreover, local traditions were more evident in this southernmost region too, often maintaining their own character. For instance, some features which appeared in other cemeteries at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty do not occur at Qubbet el-Hawa until the reign of Amenemhat III.

Bibliography

Alba Gómez, J.M., "The Funerary Chambers of Sarenput II and the Destruction of his Outer Coffin", in A. Jiménez Serrano, A. Morales Rondán (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes in the Provinces of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt* (in press).

Aldred, C., *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (New York, 1978).

Allen, J.P., "Coffin and Mummy of the Estate manager Khnumhotep", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 233-4 (cat. no. 170).

Andrews, C., *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994).

Arnold, Di., A. Oppenheim, "Excavations by The Metropolitan Museum of Art at Middle Kingdom Sites", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 311-14.

Ben-Tor, D., "Scarab of the Storehouse Overseer Wah", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 138-9 (cat. no. 70).

Bourriau, J., "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 3-20.

Bourriau, J., "Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty until the early XVIIIth Dynasty", in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Leuven, Paris, Sterling, Virginia: OLA 103, 2001), 1-20.

Budge, E.A.W., "Excavations Made at Aswân by Major-General Sir F. Grenfell, during the Years 1885 and 1886", *PSBA* 10 (1888), 4-40.

Casini, E., "Remarks on Ancient Egyptian Cartonnage Mummy Masks from the Late Old Kingdom to the End of the New Kingdom", in J.M. Chyla, J. Debowska-Ludwin, K. Rosinska-Balik, C. Walsh (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016.*

Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Symposium. Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, 2016 (Oxford, 2017), 56-73.

David, R., *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Bolton, 2007).

Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan. I. Abteilung*, *aus dem Nachlass verfasst und herausgegeben von Karl-J. Seyfried und Gerd Vieler*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 2008).

Erman, A., H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der* Ägyptischen *Sprache* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1971).

Feucht, E., "Halsschmuck", in *LÄ,* vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 933-35.

Franke, D., *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (Heidelberg: SAGA 9, 1994).

Gale, R., P. Gasson, N. Hepper, "Wood", in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 334-52.

García González, L.M., *Sarenput I: Estudio Histórico de un Nomarca de Ta-Seti a Principios de la Dinastía XII* (PhD dissertation: University of Jaén – Jaén, 2011).

Grajetzki, W., *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Archaeology of Female Burials* (Philadelphia, 2014).

Grajetzki, W., "The Tomb of Khnumhotep at Rifeh", in A.M. Dodson, J.J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait* (London: GHP Egyptology 21, 2014), 99-111.

Hannig, R., Ägyptisches Wörterbuch, vol. II: *Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rhein, 2006).

Hayes, W.C., *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of* Art, vol. I: *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1953).

Jiménez Serrano, A., A. Alemán Aguilera, M. Botella López, C. Calero, L. Chapón, L. García González, T. López-Obregón Silvestre, J.L. Martínez de Dios, S. Romón Villar, M.P. Sáez Pérez, "Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa: Las Tumbas 31 (Sarenput II), 33 y 34. Quinta Campaña", *BAEDE* 22 (2013), 7-85.

Jiménez Serrano, A., A. Alemán Aguilera, M. Ayora Cañada, M. Botella López, A. Domínguez Vidal, K. Piquette, M.O. Rodríguez Ariza, M.P. Sáez Pérez, J.L. Martínez De Dios, J.M. Alba Gómez, A. Rubio Salvador, Y. De La Torre Robles, F. Martínez Hermoso, J.A. Martínez Hermoso, T. López-Obregón Silvestre, C. Calero García, "Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa: Las Tumbas 33, 34aa y 34bb. Sexta Campaña (2014)", *BAEDE* 23 (2014), 7-48.

Jiménez Serrano, A., J.M. Alba Gómez, M.J. Ayora Cañada, V. Barba Colmenero, M. Botella López, A. Domínguez Vidal, L.M. García González, J.L. Martínez De Dios, A.J. Morales Rondán, A. Rubio Salvador, M.P. Paz Sáez-Pérez, Y. De La Torre Robles, T. López-Obregón Silvestre, "Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa: Las Tumbas nº 31, 34cc y 35p. Séptima Campaña (2015)", *BAEDE* 24 (2015), 7-88.

Jørgensen, M., *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1996).

Jørgensen, M., *Catalogue, Egypt*, vol. III: *Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies. From the Third Intermediate Period, Late, Ptolemaic and the Roman Periods (1080 BC–AD 400)*, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 2001).

Krah, K., "Perle", in *LÄ*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), 939-41.

Martínez Hermoso, J.A., *Representación Gráfica y Giseño de la Tumba de Sarenput II (QH31). Arquitectura Funeraria de la Necrópolis de Qubbet el-Hawa* (PhD dissertation: University of Cordoba – Cordoba, 2017).

Miniaci, G., *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* (London: GHP Egyptology 17, 2011).

Murray, M.A., *The Tomb of Two Brothers* (Manchester, London, 1910).

Robins, G., "Color Symbolism", in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (New York, 2002), 57-61.

Roehrig, C.H., "Funerary Mask of the Overseer of the Storehouse Wah", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 234 (cat. no. 171).

Strudwick, H.M., J. Dawson, *Death on the Nile: Uncovering the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2016), 162-7.

Taylor, J.H., *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Journey Through the Afterlife* (London, 2010).

von Känel, F., "Selqet", in *LÄ*, vol. V (Wiesbaden, 1984), 830-3.

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 25-39

Broad Collars in Late Middle Kingdom Burials

Wolfram Grajetzki

Abstract
Broad collars are among the most iconic items of Ancient Egyptian jewellery. In visual arts they are often worn by the people depicted. However, a survey of Middle Kingdom monuments shows that while they are often depicted in reliefs and in paintings, they appear very rarely on statues. Deities and kings are almost always shown with a broad collar. They also appear on monuments of officials in relief and in paint, but are here often restricted to the owner of a monument and his family members, while subjects and workmen do not wear them. Broad collars appear as part of the burial equipment too. Here it seems that most often they belong to the burial equipment that was especially made for the tomb. This raises the question of whether broad collars were ever personal adornments of daily life. The evidence rather indicates that they were high status jewellery that identified the deceased as a king or deity, and were not often worn in daily life.

Broad collars are among the most iconic items from Ancient Egypt, almost as familiar as mummies, obelisks or pyramids. Broad collars are worn by humans and gods in innumerable depictions in ancient Egyptian art. They are attested in formal art from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period. Real examples are also known from almost all periods of Egyptian history.

A broad collar normally consists of two semi-circular end pieces and many beads, most often cylindrical, forming the main part of the collar. Several collars have a counterpoise consisting of a smaller semi-circular end piece and again many beads. This counterpoise provides a balance for the heavy collar that lies on the chest. However, many broad collars have been found without a counterpoise.[1] Also part of many broad collars are the so-called collar beads. They are pierced at both ends and formed the lower row of beads on the collars.

One of the earliest depictions of a broad collar comes from the shrine of king Djoser set up in Heliopolis and dating to the Third Dynasty.[2] Since then, broad collars most often appear in depictions of men and women on statues and in relief. At some point within the Old Kingdom they start to appear in burials. A broad collar, together with armlets and anklets made of beads constitute a jewellery set in some burials of the ruling class of the Old Kingdom.[3] They do not appear in all burials and at this time are not a standard set placed into a tomb.[4] Some are of the highest quality. In the burial of the Sixth Dynasty queen Iput were found a gold bracelet, still on her body, and the remains of a necklace with two drop-shaped beads. This is the earliest example of cloisonné-work in Ancient Egypt.[5] The production of broad collars is depicted a few times in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom.[6]

Few examples of real broad collars are known from the First Intermediate Period, although this may be due to the insecure dating of many monuments to this period.[7] Many more broad collars are known from Middle Kingdom burials. In the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, Edouard Naville found the undisturbed burial of a woman. She was wearing three pairs of simple silver bracelets. Around

[1] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 145-6.
[2] Zanelli, in Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Passato e Futuro del Museo Egizio Torino*, 19-20.
[3] Wilde, *ZÄS* 140, 172-87; examples: Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza*, vol. III, 254, pl. LXXI.1; Junker, *Gîza,* vol. III, 214; Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 182-3 (on broad collars and beads).
[4] Compare the undisturbed burials of Seshemu: Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza,* vol. III, 87, pl. XXVI.2, or that of Ankhef: Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza,* vol. III, 142.
[5] Firth, Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 12, pl. 15B (1-5); Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 114.
[6] Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980–2475 v. Chr.)*, 85-6; similar scenes are also known from the Middle Kingdom; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pl. 5.
[7] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 116-7 (collar of Wadjethotep from Sedment dated to the First Intermediate Period).

her neck was a broad collar. There were also wooden models of servants in the burial.[8] At the time, Naville noticed that in the Middle Kingdom the broad collars, armlets and anklets, as well as the wooden models formed a set of burial goods that belonged together.[9] This observation, expressed in 1907, was confirmed in the publication of the excavation of the cemetery at Beni Hasan in the same year. Here, wooden models and broad collars were also found in many burials that belonged together as a set.[10] However, broad collars do not appear in all burials with wooden models. In the small Middle Kingdom cemetery at Abusir 46 tombs were excavated. About ten burials contained wooden models and decorated coffins, but there were only three burials with broad collars.[11] Few broad collars are recorded for the late First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom cemeteries at Sedment, even though many wooden models were found there.[12] It seems that broad collars were an object type restricted to the most well equipped burials.

It is not always clear whether these broad collars were already worn in daily life or were produced just for the burial. For the examples in the late Twelfth Dynasty burial of the 'lady of the house' Senebtisi, it seems clear that they were specially made to adorn the body of the deceased.[13] They do not even have holes for strings at the back. Cyril Aldred discussed the question of broad collars placed into burials and held very strong views on the concept of daily life and broad collars. He regarded most collars without a counterpoise as funerary examples.[14] Aldred also noted several broad collars in burials that had already been used in daily life and were subsequently placed on the deceased body.[15] His main criterion was the counterpoise. Collars without them were made for the funeral, those with counterpoises were used already in daily life.

Broad collars are well attested in the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins, providing further evidence that they were seen as essential in burials.[16] A broad collar is also mentioned in Coffin Text spell 934.[17] The spell belongs to an offering ritual also naming other items that often appear on coffins, in offering lists and as objects in burials. However, otherwise they do not appear in any other Pyramid or Coffin Texts.

In the mid-Twelfth Dynasty wooden models disappeared from tombs.[18] At about the same time coffins became simpler. They no longer have any inner decoration. There is a visible decline in the funerary industry. Interestingly, the broad collar did not disappear from the burials of the ruling class and is still attested until at least the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Several broad collars were found at Harageh, a larger cemetery with many burials dating to the late Middle Kingdom. This is one of the latest cemeteries where many broad collars were recorded. Otherwise, the latest Middle Kingdom burial with a datable broad collar is that of Nubhetepti-khered at Dahshur.[19] She was most likely the daughter of the Thirteenth Dynasty king Hor. In the burial of king Hor was found a model broad collar.[20] While there are hardly any broad collars securely datable to the Second Intermediate Period, they do appear on mummy masks and rishi coffins of the period.[21] It is arguable that the spread of anthropoid coffins made the placing of real broad collars in tombs no longer necessary.

In the New Kingdom broad collars are restricted almost exclusively to burials connected to the royal court or people at the highest social level. From the burial of queen Ahhotep come two end pieces styled as falcon heads.[22] They are similar to those found in the tomb of Senebtisi and Khnumet.[23] Broad collars were also found in the tomb of the three wives of Thutmosis III.[24] Another was placed on the mummy of Meret, wife of the 'architect' Kha.[25] While broad collars are not well attested as objects, depictions of them appear on almost all anthropoid coffins of the New Kingdom and are, therefore, at least symbolically present. Most New Kingdom broad collars in tombs were perhaps personal adornments already worn in daily life.[26] Objects of the funerary industry are in general less common in tombs

[8] Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, vol. I, 44, pl. 10.
[9] Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, vol. I, 44.
[10] Garstang, *Burial Customs of the Middle Kingdom*, 111-3.
[11] Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde*, 61-2, 87 (with counterpoise), 107-8.
[12] Flinders Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment*, vol. I, pls. 36-9 (tombs 1002, 1008, 1512, 2111, 2123, 2127).
[13] Mace, Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, 57; compare the comments: Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 177-8.
[14] Compare the comments on the collar of the king's daughter Ita: Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 179.
[15] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 179.
[16] Jéquier, *Les Frises d'Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, 62-72.
[17] de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII, 136; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 393-403.
[18] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 11.
[19] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)*, 112-3.
[20] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)*, 100, fig. 231.
[21] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt*, 31-2.
[22] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs,* pl. 35.
[23] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs,* pls. 7, 11.
[24] Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, figs. 162-4.
[25] Rosati, in Donadori Roveri (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. La Vita Quotidiana*, 229, fig. 321.
[26] Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, 171.

of the early New Kingdom than in those of the early Middle Kingdom. New Kingdom broad collars are also more often found in burials of women and thus become a gender-related item of jewellery.

Broad collars appear, therefore, most often in burials from the Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. They disappear from burials in the Second Intermediate Period, while being mainly attested in the New Kingdom in burials of royals, such as the three foreign wives of Thutmosis III and Tutankhamun.[27] The evidence suggests that broad collars were most popular in periods when burials included a high number of objects especially made for the tomb.

Broad collars in formal art

Broad collars appear regularly in the formal art of the Middle Kingdom. However, perhaps surprisingly, there is a near complete absence of broad collars on statues of this period. Necklaces with amulets and pectorals[28] appear sporadically and are carved into the stone of statues, but few examples of broad collars are known. This is in stark contrast to the Old Kingdom where broad collars are very common in sculpture of private individuals and are also well attested for royal sculpture.[29] In the New Kingdom they are common too, appearing mainly on figures of deities, kings and women, but less often for officials.[30] In the Old Kingdom, sculptures were often made of limestone and the broad collars painted.[31] In the New Kingdom, broad collars were painted, but often were also carved into the stone. Middle Kingdom sculpture is frequently made of hard stone and steatite, less often of limestone, and one wonders whether some of these once had broad collars painted on them which are now lost.[32] While this is an option, it should be noted that even wooden figures do not have broad collars,[33] thus confirming their absence as a general trend of the Middle Kingdom. Some Middle Kingdom figures of women are shown wearing broad collars,[34] including the wooden female offering bearers found in early Middle Kingdom burials.[35] The few known statues of deities also wear broad collars.[36] Altogether there are a small number of statues of men sporting a broad collar. These include fragments found at Qaw el-Kebir[37] depicting local governors and the Ka-statue of king Hor from his tomb at Dahshur.[38] The statue of queen Khenemet-nefer-hedjet Weret, now in the Musée du Louvre (E 32564) also displays a broad collar (Fig. 1).[39] Mummiform figures are sometimes depicted with broad collars too.[40]

Fig. 1 - Statue of queen Khenemet-nefer-hedjet Weret, Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 32564. Photo © Mbzt 2016, Wikimedia Commons, <accessed 11.12.2017>

For painted and relief figures the picture is totally different. For these, broad collars are common. However, a closer look once again reveals differences. Therefore, I present here several monuments with depictions of

[27] Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 112-3, 152-3.

[28] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, pls. 30-1; Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, figs. 77, 171, 181.

[29] Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pls. 38-45; Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pl. 60.

[30] Examples are numerous, compare: Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, pls. 64, 67, 73, 77 (a deity), 85-6 (king); Kozloff, Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 172-4, pl. 14; 200, 204 (king), 202-3, 206-7, pl. 16 (royal women); 255, pl. 25 (official).

[31] Arnold, Ziegler (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 290, 300-1, 302, 362, 378-85, 456.

[32] Compare the triad of Menkaure made of greywacke that was found in the king's funerary temple at Giza. The figure still had a painted broad collar when found. Today the collar is gone. Markowitz, in Markowitz, Haynes, Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,* 56-7 (cat. no. 5).

[33] Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 106-7 (cat. no. 39), 124-5 (cat. no. 48), 154-5 (cat. no. 61), 156-7 (cat. no. 62), 176-7 (cat. no. 72), 184-5 (cat. no. 76).

[34] Oppenheim, Arnold, Arnold, Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 248 (cat. no. 186).

[35] Oppenheim, Arnold, Arnold, Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 226-7 (cat. no. 163).

[36] Oppenheim, Arnold, Arnold, Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 290-3 (cat. nos. 218, 220).

[37] Marochetti, in Hudáková, Jánosi, Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, pl. II: fig. 10, pl. XIII: fig. 24.

[38] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)*, pl. 35.

[39] Morfoisse-Guénault, Andreu (eds.), *Sésostris III*, 54-5, figs. 6-7.

[40] Compare: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, fig. 216; Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, 72-4; Whelan, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt,* vol. II, 318-9, fig. 13.

human figures in order to evaluate the kinds of people who wore broad collars.

Unexpectedly, broad collars are very common in the world of deities. A few examples will be given here. The White Chapel of Senwosret I is the best preserved of all Middle Kingdom temple buildings. The decorative program seems to have survived completely. The pillars of the chapel show Senwosret I in the company of different deities. The king and the god always wear a broad collar. Other figures attending these scenes are often shown without one.[41] Male and female fecundity appear too and always have a broad collar.[42]

Another example are the reliefs from the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht. They come from two or more buildings. Several blocks were found reused in the foundations of the mortuary temple and must come from it or even from older buildings.[43] Other blocks most likely come from the mortuary temple proper. Together they preserve a high number of depictions of deities and people. So far, almost all of the deities in human shape wear a broad collar.[44] There are just a few exceptions. Atum is shown on a lintel in front of Amenemhat's Horus name. It seems he does not have a broad collar, but the surface of the relief is quite worn and the collar might simply be lost.[45] Most often the king is also shown with a broad collar,[46] however there is one exception where he is shown in the sed festival wearing the typical dress of this event. This can be explained as the broad collar was not part of this dress.[47] The reliefs also include processions of estates and offering bearers, all represented by women and all wearing broad collars.[48] Family members of the king appear in the reliefs and they too sport broad collars.[49] Finally, many human figures from daily life scenes are depicted. The fragments are often small and their context and even provenance is often uncertain. Figures clearly shown performing different manual activities do not wear a broad collar.[50] Some male figures are shown with a broad collar, but their context is not known.[51]

Reliefs found at Koptos by William Matthew Flinders Petrie show several deities and Senwosret I, who seems to have rebuilt the local Min temple, as well as Amenemhat I. The five deities preserved in the scenes all wear a broad collar. Of the three depictions of Senwosret I, twice he is shown wearing a broad collar and once a bead necklace.[52]

The tomb chapel of Senbi at Meir dates to the early Middle Kingdom. The walls are only partly preserved, but the tomb has a scene where an official (the *imy-r pr Ḥnmw*) offers a broad collar to the tomb owner.[53] Here Senbi is also depicted with a broad collar. In a lower register on the same wall Senbi is shown with his wife Meres both wearing a broad collar. Several other workmen are depicted, though none is adorned with one. On the east wall of the same tomb, Senbi is shown hunting in the desert, but here he is not wearing a broad collar.[54] On the south wall, Senbi stands with men herding cattle in front of him. He is shown twice, both times with a broad collar.[55]

The tomb chapel of the local governor Khnumhotep II (no. 3 at Beni Hasan) dating under Senwosret II or perhaps later, is one of the best known and best published of all Middle Kingdom tombs. The tomb chapel consists of one big room that is fully decorated with painted scenes. At the back, on the east wall, is a small cult niche, also fully decorated. The following list presents all of the figures with a broad collar. Several hundred people are depicted in the tomb, many of them with titles who worked in the lower administration. The wearing of broad collars is restricted to Khnumhotep II and his family members.

Tomb façade: Khnumhotep II seated at the entrance of the tomb (twice)[56]

Main chamber, north wall: Khnumhotep II hunting in the desert[57]

Main chamber, east wall, north side: Khnumhotep II in the marshes[58] (Fig. 2)

Main chamber, east wall (entrance to the statue niche): Khnumhotep II seated (twice)[59]

[41] Lacau, Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier*, pls. 13, 18, 41.
[42] Lacau, Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier*, pls. 2, 12, 27.
[43] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, 8-12.
[44] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 24, 26-8, 32-4, 40-1, 67, 72-3 (the latter are fecundity figures), 120, 151-2.
[45] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 32-3.
[46] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 24, 40-1, 82-4.
[47] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 30-1.
[48] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 63-6.
[49] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 74-5.
[50] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 121-7.
[51] Jánosi, *Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*, pls. 122-3 (no. 236), 124-5 (no. 241).
[52] Flinders Petrie, Hogarth, *Koptos*, pls. IX (bead necklace), X, XI.3.
[53] Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pl. 2.
[54] Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pl. 6.
[55] Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, pl. 9.
[56] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 24; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, 29 (not depicted on relevant plate, pl. 107, but mentioned in text).
[57] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 30; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 123.
[58] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 32; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 132.
[59] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 33; Kanawati, Evans,

Main chamber, east wall, south side: Khnumhotep II in the marshes[60]
Main chamber, south wall: Khnumhotep II at an offering table[61]
Statue niche, north wall: Khnumhotep's II wife Tjat and two other women[62]
Statue niche, east wall: perhaps daughters (not well preserved)[63]
Statue niche, south wall: three sons[64]
Statue niche, west wall: wife[65]

The reliefs of the 'sealer' and 'house master' Sahathor most likely once formed the decoration of a small Abydos chapel, although the exact provenance of the reliefs is not recorded. Three reliefs are now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, and a stela belonging to the same group is now in Leiden.[66] Sahathor was the 'sealer' of the vizier Ankhu, providing a date for the official into the first decades of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The main relief shows Sahathor alone in front of an offering table. Here he wears a broad collar. A second relief shows him twice in front of family members and in front of other officials. All of the people in this scene, both men and women, wear a broad collar. A third relief shows him standing in front of his wife and in front of workmen. In contrast, none of the workmen has a broad collar. The stela in Leiden shows Sahathor in front of Min. Min and Sahathor both wear a broad collar.

Finally, the small group of stelae found at Harageh should also be included here. Eight late Middle Kingdom stelae were found, five of which preserve human figures.[67] The stela of Nebpu[68] shows eight people, seven men and one woman, all wearing a broad collar. The stela of the 'overseer of boats' Renefseneb[69] just shows the stela owner, also adorned with a broad collar. On each of the two stelae of Kenensu[70] the deceased is shown sitting on the left with a woman sitting on the right. He wears a broad collar, but it is unclear if the woman has one. Her shape is carved in sunk relief without further inner details. Finally, the stela of a woman called Iytenhab[71] shows her sitting on the left. In front of her sits a woman with a child on her lap. Iytenhab wears armlets and anklets, however none of the three people here wears a broad collar.

Broad collars were evidently a divine attribute but also a status marker. In the world of gods, broad collars appear regularly in two dimensional art. It is rare to find a god that is not depicted with a broad collar. The same is true for kings and queens. Officials and their family members wear the broad collar regularly too. In contrast, workmen and servants depicted on the same monument are rarely shown wearing one. Especially striking are the examples from the tombs of Senbi and Khnumhotep II where only Senbi and Khnumhotep II and close family members are adorned with one. It comes as a surprise, therefore, to find that broad collars are rarely depicted in sculpture. The reason for this is not clear, but it might be argued that here the medium played a significant role and that the broad collar might have been regarded as aesthetically unpleasing on a hard stone statue. At the present time I see no evidence

Fig. 2 - Khnumhotep II hunting in the marshes. Published in: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 32

Khnumhotep II, pl. 134.
[60] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 34; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 136.
[61] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 35; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 138.
[62] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 36; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 144.
[63] Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 145.
[64] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 37; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 146.
[65] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 36; Kanawati, Evans, *Khnumhotep II*, pl. 147.
[66] Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 94-104, pls. 21-3; Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pls. 78-9 (ANOC 57).
[67] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pls. 71-5.
[68] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 1540: Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. 71; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 164-5 (cat. no. 66).
[69] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. LXXV.5.
[70] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. LXXIV.3-4.
[71] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 1664: Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. 73; Jørgensen, *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, 162-3 (cat. no. 65).

to show that the presence or absence of broad collars had anything to do with the function of stelae, paintings and statues. Many were found in a funerary context and it seems that it was highly desirable for the deceased to be wearing a broad collar. In this context, the stela of Iytenhab from Harageh is somehow enigmatic. Why are the people depicted not adorned with a collar?

Broad collars in archaeology: Harageh

The following list includes all of the burials from Harageh[72] that contained the end pieces of a broad collar and information on all other finds made. The sources are the published tomb list and the tomb cards made during the excavation and now stored in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL.[73]

Tomb no. 3 (cemetery A)

Shaft about 5.3 m deep with a chamber on the south side (Fig. 3).

Finds: the remains of a coffin with the name Bastethotep. The name also appears on the broad collar, most likely on one of the end pieces. Inscribed collars are uncommon, compare the comments on the collar in tomb 96.

Beads: 63p[74] (green glazed bead), 64j (green glazed semi-circular end piece), 68q (green glazed cylinder beads).

Pottery: just one pottery vessel type 67s (perhaps three vessels, according to tomb card), found east of the coffin.

Date: Pottery type 67s is common in the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty, but seems to disappear later.

Tomb no. 67 (cemetery F)

Shaft with two chambers (Fig. 4).

Finds: part of a cartonnage eye, many pottery vessels, two flint flakes.

Beads: 63j and 63u (two types of beads), 64g (light blue glazed semi-circular end piece), 68l and 68u (cylinder beads), 73p4 (carnelian barrel bead).

Pottery: 2a3, 3b, 5y, 10p, 56h2, 58o4, 58t2, 59c, 59u.

Date: Pottery types 59c and 59u date to the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty.[75]

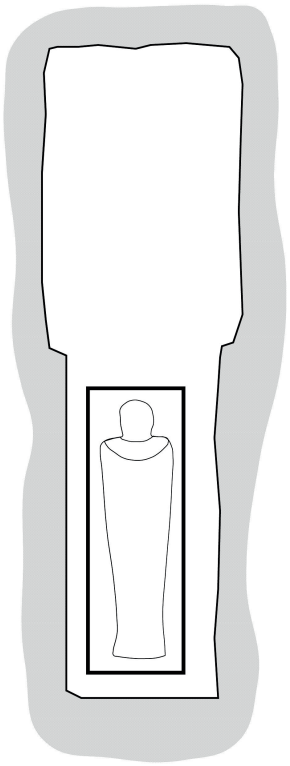


Fig. 3 - Reconstruction of Harageh tomb 3. Drawing © Wolfram Grajetzki

Tomb 70 (cemetery A)

Shaft with one chamber. There were two bodies of men, sexed in the excavation report.

Shaft: 1.5 × 0.95 × 0.32 m; chamber on the south side: 0.55 (h) × 0.6 × 1.2 m.

Finds: eye from cartonnage and pieces of bitumen.

Broad collar: 64g (light blue glazed semi-circular end piece), 63o (green glazed, middle piece), 68r (green glazed cylinder bead).

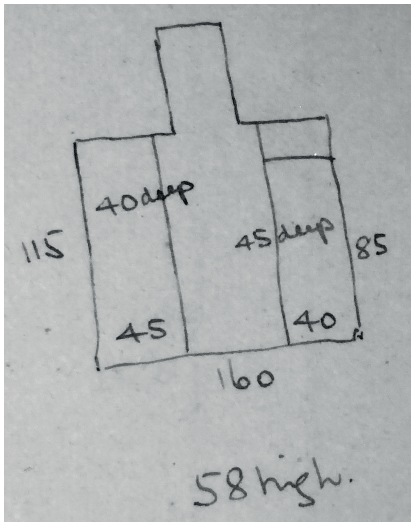


Fig. 4 - Tomb card drawing of Harageh tomb 67. Tomb card © Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[72] Engelbach, *Harageh.*

[73] Published as CD-Rom: *The Petrie Museum Archives*, The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL, London 1999.

[74] The following numbers refer to the bead corpus in Reginald Engelbach's publication (Engelbach, *Harageh*, pls. 50-4); the beads most likely belonging to collars are nos. 63, 64 and 68 with further letters for subtypes.

[75] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 996-7.

Pottery: 2f2, 3m, 3q, 37h, 50r, 56d, 67s.
Date: rather early in the pottery sequence according to Barry Kemp and Robert Merrillees.[76] Pottery types 37h, 67s disappear in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[77]

Tomb 96 (cemetery A)
Shaft with one chamber on the south side.
Beads: 52g (studs from anthropoid coffin), 73e (barrel bead), gold leaf, falcon-headed end piece.[78]
Pottery: 36m2, 41f, 46m, 67e, 67s.
Date: Rather late in the pottery sequence according to Kemp and Merrillees.[79] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[80] Type 36m2 disappears before the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.[81] Type 46m starts under Amenemhat III and continues in use well into the Thirteenth Dynasty.[82] If we take the pottery evidence together, the tomb dates most likely under Amenemhat III.

The faience falcon-headed end piece of the broad collar from this tomb is today in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL, UC6983 (Fig. 5). It is about 6 cm high and 8 cm wide at the bottom. There is only one end piece in the museum. Other beads recorded for the tomb are barrel beads, which are not very typical for broad collars. Falcon-headed end pieces for broad collars appear several times in the Middle Kingdom but are not nearly as common as the semi-circular examples. They often belong to more luxury collars, such as those found in the tombs of Khnumet at Dahshur,[83] Neferuptah at Hawara[84] and Nubhetepti-khered at Dahshur.[85] At Dayr al-Barsha several falcon-headed collars were found inscribed with the name of the owner,[86] again a sign of the high status of such collars.

Tomb 104 (cemetery A)
Shaft with two chambers, one chamber on the south, the other on the north side, with two male bodies (it was not recorded where they were found).
Beads: 64l (green glazed end piece), 68o (blue glazed cylinder bead).

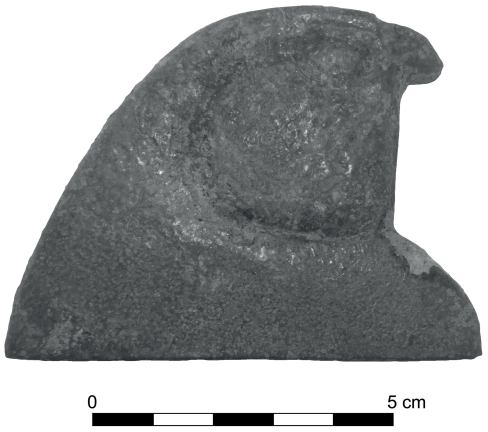


Fig. 5 - The falcon end piece from Harageh tomb 96, UC6983. Photo © Wolfram Grajetzki, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Pottery: 5y, 8n, 58t, 59y3, 67s.
Date: Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[87]

Tomb 109 (cemetery A)
Shaft with two chambers, one on the south, one on the north.
Beads: gold leaf, 52g (studs from wig), 63v, 64g, 68q (light blue glaze).
Pottery: 7j2, 67es, 90s.
Date: burial early in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[88] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[89] Janet Richards dates 7j2 to the Twelfth Dynasty, but 90s to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[90]

The burial most likely once contained an anthropoid coffin; studs were found that once adorned the wig of a coffin or mask.

Tomb 118 (cemetery A)
Shaft with two chambers, one on the north, one on the south, three bodies of men.
Beads: 63o (collar bead), 64 j, 64l (semi-circular end pieces) 68o and 68q (cylinder beads), all green glazed.
Pottery: $7j_2k$, 41k.
Date: Burial is in the latest '10' in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[91] Pottery type 41k seems to date from the reign of Amenemhat

[76] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 29, fig. 11.
[77] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 534, 538.
[78] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. XVII.2.
[79] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, fig. 13.
[80] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[81] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 570.
[82] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 614.
[83] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 11.
[84] Farag, Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptaḥ*, 66-9, pl. 49.
[85] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)*, 113.
[86] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 17-8, fig. 1.
[87] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[88] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 29, fig. 11.
[89] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[90] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[91] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 29, fig. 11.

III until well into the Thirteenth Dynasty.[92] Richards dates 7j2 and 41k to the Twelfth Dynasty.[93] From the combined pottery evidence the burial might date to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Tomb 143 (cemetery A)
Shaft with two chambers, one on the north, one on the south, one man.
Beads: 63t (collar bead), 64l (semi-circular end pieces), 68o (cylinder bead), all green glazed.
Pottery: 41m, 62s, 67s.
Date: burial late in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[94] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[95]

Tomb 159 (cemetery A)
Shaft with one chamber; shaft was plastered. Burial of a woman.
Beads: 64g (semi-circular end pieces, light blue glaze), 68o (cylinder bead, light green glaze).
Pottery: 2f, 2s, 41m, 67s.
Date: burial middle in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[96] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[97]

Tomb 190 (cemetery C)
Collapsed tomb, beads belong to intrusive burial, the original one is Old Kingdom.
No Middle Kingdom pottery.
Beads: 58f, 63f (collar bead, green glaze), 64b (semi-circular end pieces, blue glaze), 68o and 68p (green and blue glazed cylinder beads).

Tomb 284 (cemetery B)
Shaft with two chambers, one on the north, one on the south and an 'inner chamber in south chamber'.
Finds: canopic box.
Beads: 63p (collar bead, light blue glaze), 65d (collar drop, green glaze), 64j (semi-circular end piece, green glaze), 68o and 68p (cylinder beads, green glaze).
Pottery: 7j2, 38o, 67s, 90s.
Date: burial late in the sequence at cemetery B according to Kemp and Merrillees.[98] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[99] Richards dates 7j2 to the Twelfth Dynasty and 90s to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[100]

Tomb 285 (cemetery B) (unpublished)
One chamber, white plaster is mentioned, body of man, tomb reused in the Eighteenth Dynasty.
Finds: fragments of coffin.
Beads: 64g (semi-circular end piece, light blue glaze), 63s (collar beads, blue glaze).
Pottery: H274 (according to the tomb card).

Tomb 320 (cemetery B)
Shaft with one chamber.
Finds: traces of coffin, limestone eye from coffin.
Beads: 63q (collar beads, green glaze), 64j (semi-circular end piece, blue glaze), 68o (cylinder beads, blue glaze).
Pottery: 7j2, 41k, 57j, 67b, 67s.
Date: burial middle in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[101] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[102] Richards dates 7j2 and 41k to the Twelfth Dynasty.[103]

Tomb 341 (cemetery B)
Shaft with chamber on the south, one male body.
Finds: wooden eye from coffin, flint flake.
Beads: 63p (collar beads, light blue glaze), 64j (semi-circular end piece, blue glaze), 68p (cylinder beads, dark blue glaze).
Pottery: 2f4, 7j2.
Date: burial in the 'top 10' in the sequence at cemetery A according to Kemp and Merrillees.[104] Richards dates 7j2 to the Twelfth Dynasty.[105]

Tomb 348 (cemetery B)
Shaft with chamber on the north, body of a man and a woman.
Beads: 64g (semi-circular end piece, light blue glaze), 68o (cylinder beads, light blue glaze).
Pottery: 6k, 41m, 58h2, 59b.
Date: burial late in the sequence at cemetery B according to Kemp and Merrillees.[106]

[92] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 664.
[93] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[94] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 29, fig. 11.
[95] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[96] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 29, fig. 11.
[97] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[98] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.
[99] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[100] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[101] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.
[102] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[103] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[104] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.
[105] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[106] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.

Tomb 357 (cemetery B)
Chamber on the south, male body.
Finds: two painted limestone eyes.
Beads: 63o (collar beads, light blue glaze), 64g (semi-circular end piece, light blue glaze), 68q (cylinder beads, light blue glaze), 68j.
Pottery: 7j2, 41k, 67s.
Date: burial middle in the sequence at cemetery B according to Kemp and Merrillees.[107] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[108] Pottery type 41k seems to date from the reign of Amenemhat III to well into the Thirteenth Dynasty.[109] Richards dates 7j2 and 41k to the Twelfth Dynasty.[110]

Tomb 377 (cemetery B)
Chamber on the south.
Finds: wooden canopic jars.
Beads: 63m (collar beads, blue glaze), 68o (cylinder beads, blue glaze), 64g (semi-circular end piece, light blue glaze).
Pottery: 33t, 41j, 67s.
Date: burial late in the sequence at cemetery B according to Kemp and Merrillees.[111] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[112] Pottery type 41j seems to date from the reign of Amenemhat III to well into the Thirteenth Dynasty.[113]

Tomb 605 (cemetery E)
Shaft with chamber on the north, two men, one woman.
Finds: fragments of inscribed coffin.
Beads: 64g (semi-circular end piece, light blue glaze), 68l (cylinder beads, green glaze).
Pottery: 2f2, 67s.
Date: Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[114]

Tomb 614 (cemetery E)
Chamber on the south (Fig. 6).
Finds: two limestone eyes.
Beads: 63q (collar beads, green glaze), 64j (semi-circular end piece, blue glaze), 68q (cylinder beads, pink glaze).
Pottery: 2a2, 2a3, 41m, 58h2, 59b2, 67s.
Date: Robert Schiestl and Anne Seiler date pottery type 59b2 to between the reign of Senwosret III and the early Thirteenth Dynasty.[115] Pottery type 67s disappears in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[116] The tomb most likely dates therefore to the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty.

The collars from tomb 614 are in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL. UC6435 consists today of two semi-circular end pieces and about 600 small cylinder beads, not reconstructed (Fig. 7). All these pieces are made of blue faience. However, there are also about 75 cylinder beads that today are black and, therefore, different in colour to the others. The collar end pieces are about 7 cm long and 3.2 cm high. There is a hole at the end of each and seven holes on their long side for holding strings of beads. The holes start in the short end and come out on the underside. Also on the underside is a groove connecting the holes. The function of the groove is not fully clear to me.

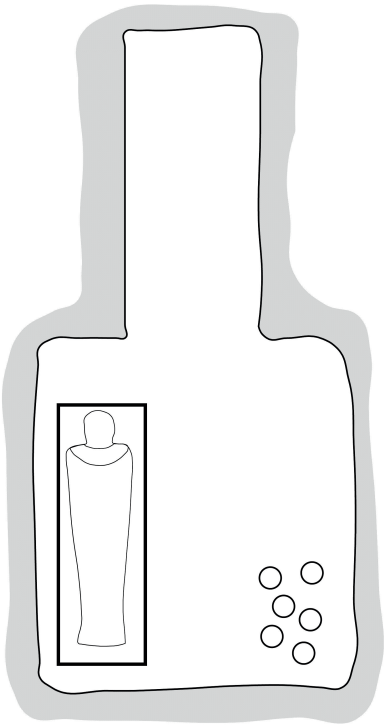


Fig. 6 - Reconstruction of Harageh, tomb 614. Drawing © Wolfram Grajetzki

There is a second broad collar (UC 6505, Fig. 8) in the Petrie Museum said to come from the same tomb. It is now reconstructed. The end pieces of this one are

[107] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.
[108] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[109] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 664.
[110] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 107.
[111] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 27, fig. 9.
[112] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[113] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 664.
[114] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.
[115] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 996-7.
[116] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 538.

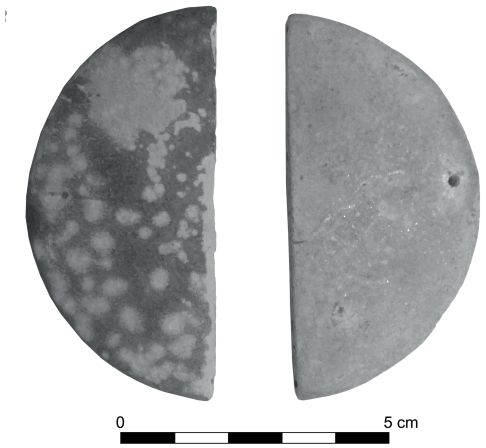


Fig. 7 - End pieces from Harageh tomb 614, UC6435. Photo © Wolfram Grajetzki, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

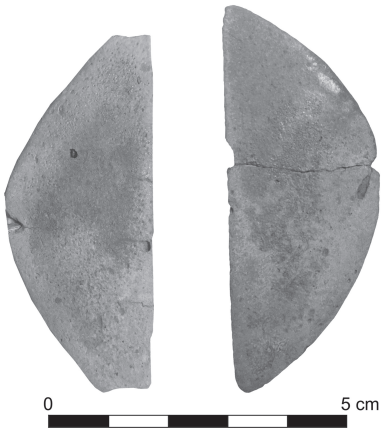


Fig. 8 - End pieces UC6505. Photo © Wolfram Grajetzki, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Tomb No.	Number of Chambers	Sex	Mummy Mask or Anthropoid Coffin	Other Jewellery	Other Finds
3	1				
67	2		x		flint flakes
70	1	m, m	x		
96	1		x		gold foil
104	2	m, m			
109	2		x		gold leaf
118	2	m, m, m			
143	2				
159	1	f			
190	?			x	
284	3				canopic box
285	1	m			
320	1		x		
341	1	m	x		flint flake
348	1	f, m			
357	1	m	x		
377	1				canopic jars
605	1	f, m, m			
614	1		x		

Table 1 - Summary of the tombs at Harageh with broad collar end pieces

slightly smaller (6 × 2.3 cm and 6.5 × 2.3 cm). Included in the reconstruction are about 262 cylinder beads, 15 collar beads and about 100 very small round beads.

The excavation report of Engelbach presented the tombs in a register with a strong focus on typology. He registered the different types of beads but not the number of beads found. The publication does not indicate that elements from two collars were found.

Dating

Evidently, the dating of single burials at Harageh in absolute terms is very difficult. It seems that the cemetery was in use from about the reigns of Senwosret II/III onwards without break into the New Kingdom, but there was most likely a decline in wealth at some point. There are few high status objects dating to the Second Intermediate Period. It seems that the bulk of tombs date to the Twelfth Dynasty with further important burials perhaps dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

According to the pottery, Richards dates 99 tombs to the Twelfth and 32 to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[117] She does not discuss the dating of the tombs in detail. Kemp and Merrillees published a pottery seriation of cemeteries A and B.[118] According to their relative dating there is no obvious reason why broad collars appear in one period more often than in another. The collars from tombs 70, 109 and 341 are rather early in the sequence. The following tombs belong in the middle of

[117] Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 108 (only for cemetery A and B).
[118] Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 26-9, figs. 9-11.

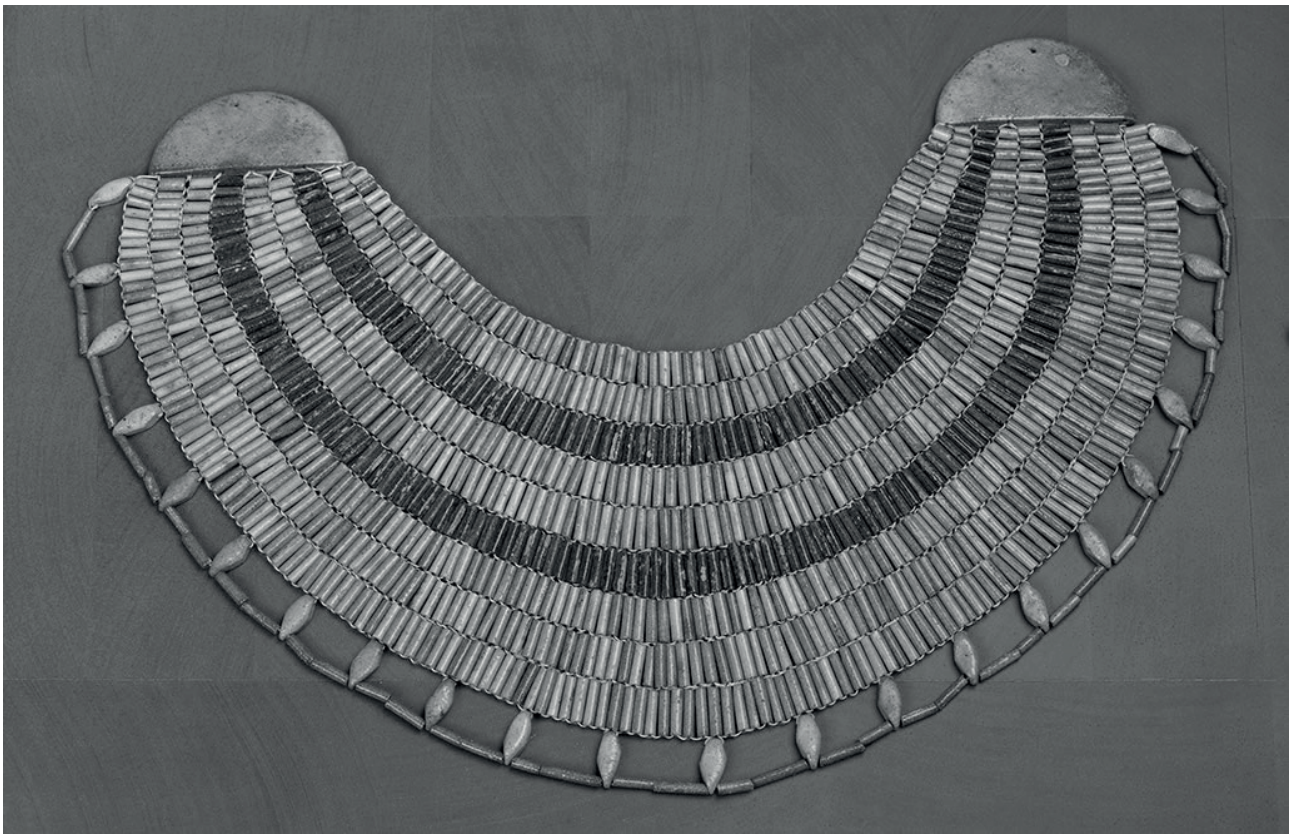


Fig. 9 - Broad collar of Hapiankhtifi, from Meir. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no.12.183.12. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1912. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

their sequence: 159, 320 and 357. The following tombs with collars date to late in the sequence: 96 (with the falcon-headed end piece), 118, 143, 284, 348 and 377. However, for dating most of the pottery vessels found, the work of Schiestl and Seiler was used in the present paper.[119] The precise dating of single tombs remains problematic.

This list of broad collars is certainly only a small fraction of those once placed in tombs at Harageh. They are all recognisable as broad collars from the semi-circular end pieces found. These are made of faience and are, therefore, not of great value to looters (whether ancient or modern) and also they have a high chance of survival. In contrast, the end pieces in the burial of Senebtisi at Lisht were made of plaster and then gilded. The plaster had already almost disintegrated when found.[120] Such examples would have stood little chance of survival in a looted tomb. The gold leaf would be removed and the plaster might survive only as unrecognizable fragments with little obvious value to an excavator. The collars all seem rather simple with semi-circular end pieces and cylinder beads forming their main bulk. At the lower end were most likely the so-called collar beads. The collars found at Harageh must have looked very similar to the collar of Hapiankhtifi from Meir (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fig. 9). Variations within the corpus of broad collars at Harageh seem likely but they escape our knowledge due to the limited recording and the poor conditions for preservation at Harageh. In order to provide a fuller picture, the tombs with collar beads are presented below.

All burials with broad collars at Harageh were found heavily looted. The main finds are beads from collars, parts of coffins and pottery. Other finds are rare. Tombs 67 and 341 contained flint flakes; tombs 96 and 109 gold leaf and tomb 377 wooden canopic jars. The burial equipment seems very limited. This contrasts with burials containing collar beads but without the end pieces. None of the latter burials contained any remains of a mummy mask or anthropoid coffin, but in tomb 133 shabtis were found (not depicted in the excavation report) and in tomb 265 fragments of a papyrus. These tombs will not be included in the following discussion. Single beads might have ended up in one of these tombs by accident, thus giving the wrong impression about the original burial equipment.

It remains highly problematic to draw any further

[119] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. I.
[120] Mace, Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, 67.

Tomb No.	Number of Chambers	Sex	Mummy Mask or Anthropoid Coffin	Other Jewellery	Other Finds
17	1				
58	2	f, m, m			flint flake
64	2	c			stone vessel
66	1	m			
81	2	f, m, m			
133	2	f, m		x	shabtis, clay balls, stela fragment
161	1	m			gold foil, flint flake
265	1	f		x	papyrus
322	1			x	
339	shaft only			x	
380	1				
600	2				oyster shell

Table 2 - Summary of the tombs at Harageh with collar beads

conclusions. Nevertheless, there are some general observations that can be made. In 16 tombs at Harageh eyes were found that most likely once belonged to anthropoid coffins or to mummy masks. Eight of these tombs also contained a broad collar (50%).[121] In four tombs at Harageh examples of a type of button or stud were discovered[122] that were once attached to anthropoid coffins.[123] Two of the tombs (96, 109) containing this type of button also had broad collars. This means that a high percentage of burials with a broad collar also had a mummy mask or even an anthropoid coffin. The latter objects of the funerary industry are otherwise not so well attested at Harageh. This should come as no great surprise as it just means that two types of high status burial goods were often placed together within one tomb. However, otherwise the tombs contained little. The simplicity of these burials seems remarkable. Certainly, it is likely that any valuable objects were taken away, especially personal adornments made from metals such as gold.[124]

These high status sparsely-equipped burials compare with many other late Middle Kingdom burials of the ruling class that were also equipped with very few funerary goods. One early Middle Kingdom example of a high status burial found undisturbed is that of a woman called Ankhet discovered next to the pyramid of Senwosret I. Her tomb contained a small number of items of the funerary industry. There was a decorated coffin, a wooden hes-vase, a wooden headrest and a mummy mask. These are all objects of the funerary industry. Ankhet did not have a broad collar. However, a broad collar was most likely painted on the badly preserved mummy mask. A broad collar was, therefore, in some way part of her burial equipment.[125] The burial of Zatip at Dahshur, next to the pyramid of Senwosret III, contained a decorated coffin, a mask, a broad collar and some pottery vessels. Little else is recorded for the tomb.[126] Another example is the tomb of Khnumhotep at Rifeh, with four rectangular coffins, two anthropoid coffins and one mummy mask. One coffin had a face covered with silver.[127] The coffins are all of high quality, but there were surprisingly few other burial goods. In popular opinion, and even that of many

[121] Tombs 5, 35, 67 (c), 70 (c), 96 (c), 109 (c), 122, 132, 293, 320 (c), 341 (c), 357 (c), 394, 397, 608, 614 (c). Note that (c) means that the tomb also contained a broad collar.

[122] Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. LI (no. 52).

[123] For images of coffins with these buttons see: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, fig. 203; Baba, Yazawa, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. I, pl. XIII.

[124] Is it possible to reconstruct burials in which the broad collars were found? While it is fairly common to reconstruct architecture within archaeology, it is not so common to reconstruct a burial. This is sometimes done when organic material is not preserved in order to provide an impression of the burial as it once might have looked when intact. One recent example of just such a reconstruction is the burial of an official called Inpunefer, discovered at Abusir (Bárta, *Journey to the West*, fig. on p. 184). The burial was basically found untouched but the organic material was mostly decayed. A drawing by the National Geographic provides a reconstruction, sadly not very accurate as, for example, the genitals of the naked man are not drawn, something ancient Egyptians would not neglect. Another, much older reconstruction is that of the burial chamber of Senebtisi (Mace, Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, fig. 1 on p. 6). It is again a reconstruction of the original tomb contents of which the organic preservation was not good. The drawing provides a clearer picture of the burial chamber. The reconstruction is fairly certain as the burial was found intact. In contrast to the two examples cited, it is fairly rare to find a reconstructed looted or disturbed tomb.

[125] Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. III, 54-8, pls. 66-9.

[126] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)*, 35-6.

[127] Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12.

Egyptologists, the image persists that Egyptian burials were richly equipped, especially those of wealthy people. This is certainly true to some extent, but there were also periods when many burial goods were not automatically seen as important. A restricted set of objects was an acceptable option even for people with substantial resources.

In late Middle Kingdom burials new object types appear, including birth tusks, faience figures[128] of animals and women, as well as games and papyri. These burials have received much attention and have been discussed often in recent literature. They seem to follow older burial traditions common for the broader population since the Badarian Period. In this tradition, objects close to the body in life were placed in the burial, while objects made especially for the tomb are rather rare.[129] New objects of the funerary industry include the first shabtis and heart scarabs. However, this type of burial with many daily life objects represents just one category in the burial traditions of the late Middle Kingdom, since there are also the so-called 'court type burials' with few or none of these objects. 'Court type burials' contain instead a set of objects most likely closely related to Osiris and the vigil hours. These objects include staves and weapons, as well as a broad collar and a royal, solar related, apron.[130] Other burials of people from a high social background that did not include these Osiris related objects still contained mainly objects made especially for the burial, such as decorated coffins and broad collars.[131] Evidently, in the late Middle Kingdom there were funerary industries in certain places still actively producing decorated coffins, mummy masks, canopic equipment and broad collars.[132] Only wooden models were no longer part of their repertoire. It is to this category that most of the Harageh tombs with broad collars must belong.

The broad collars at Harageh most likely date to the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty. None of the burials can be securely placed chronologically into the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty or even beyond. This might be an accident of survival and also part of the cemetery's history. At some point people of a higher social status were no longer buried here. The disappearance of broad collars might not reflect a change in burial customs. It might instead reflect a change in the social profile of the cemetery. However, as already indicated, at some point in the late Middle Kingdom, broad collars disappear from burials of the ruling class. This phenomenon most likely belongs to a change of burial customs in the Second Intermediate Period when objects of daily life dominate even the burials of the wealthiest people. In the late Middle Kingdom daily life objects rarely appear in burials at the top of society. There are few daily life objects in the burials of the king's daughter Nubhetepti-khered and king Hor. Both burials are still dominated by ritual objects. Gianluca Miniaci noted that faience figures disappeared from burials at some point in the Second Intermediate Period. Figures of animals, such as hippopotami, hedgehogs, dogs and those of naked women are found sporadically in burials of the late Middle Kingdom, but not in those of the later Second Intermediate Period.[133] These figures were most likely not made solely for the tomb, but were also used in daily life.[134] They are, therefore, a different category of object to the broad collars under discussion. However, the disappearance of both object categories might attest to a general change in burial customs in the period and, perhaps, also a sign of the diminished resources of the period. At least the broad collar survived as part of the coffin decoration.

The overwhelming evidence from the formal arts leaves one with the impression that broad collars were the most common type of personal adornment in ancient Egypt for the higher social level, yet the archaeology of the burials at Harageh does not support this view. In the cemeteries reviewed here, broad collars appear to be restricted to a few burials that often contained many objects made especially for the tomb. This almost inevitably leads to the conclusion that broad collars were made solely for adorning mummies. It seems that not even a single counterpoise was found at Harageh. Aldred saw the counterpoise as evidence that a collar had already been used in life.[135] Counterpoises for broad collars are known from several burials of royal women. The collars of Neferuptah and Nubhetepti-khered each have one. Those of Senebtisi do not. The latter broad collars were clearly made just for the burial. It is not possible to answer the question of whether broad collars at Harageh were purely funerary objects or not. It does seem that broad collars appear most often in highly ritual contexts in tombs with only a few daily life objects, making it more likely that they were mainly regarded as funerary objects and not items from daily life. In this context it comes as no surprise to

[128] For many of these are daily life objects, see: Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 358-9.
[129] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 205-52.
[130] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 17-93, 147-54.
[131] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 100-2, 154-5.
[132] Caisino, in Chyla, Dębowska-Ludwin, Rosińska-Balik, Walsh (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016*, 62.
[133] Miniaci, *Journal of Egyptian History* 7, 130-2.
[134] Miniaci, *Journal of Egyptian History* 7, 120.
[135] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 179.

find that mummiform figures of the deceased often wear a broad collar (Pl. IV.1).

Bibliography

Aldred, C., *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (London, 1971).

Arnold, Di., *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. III: *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I* (New York: PMMA 25, 1992).

Arnold, Do., Ch. Ziegler (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids. Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sept. 16, 1999 – Jan. 9, 2000* (New York, 1999).

Baba, M., K. Yazawa, "Burials Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom, Shaft-tombs in Dahshur North", in G. Miniaci, W. Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC)*, vol. I (London: MKS 1, 2015), 1-24.

Bárta, M., *Journey to the West. The World of the Old Kingdom Tombs in Ancient Egypt* (Prague, 2011).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I (London: ASE 22, 1914).

Bolshakov, A.O., S.G. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage* (Utrecht, Paris: Publications interuniversitaires de recherches égyptologiques informatisées 3, 1999).

Bourriau, J., "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 3-20.

Caisino, E., "Remarks on Ancient Egyptian Cartonnage Mummy Masks from the Late Old Kingdom to the End of the New Kingdom", in J.M. Chyla, J. Dębowska-Ludwin, K. Rosińska-Balik, C. Walsh (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Symposium, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, 4–7 May 2016* (Oxford, 2017), 56-73.

Daressy, G., "Fouilles de Deir el Bircheh (Novembre–Décembre 1897)", *ASAE* 1 (1901), 17-43.

de Buck, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII: *Texts of Spells 787–1185* (Chicago: OIP 87, 1961).

de Morgan, J., *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars–Juin 1894)* (Vienna, 1895).

Engelbach, R., *Harageh* (London: BSAE 28, 1923).

Farag, N., Z. Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptaḥ* (Cairo, 1971).

Fechheimer, H., *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1922).

Firth, C.M., B. Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1: *Text*, vol. 2: *Plates* (Cairo, 1926).

Flinders Petrie. W.M., D.G. Hogarth, *Koptos* (London, 1896).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., G. Brunton, *Sedment*, vol. I (London: BSAE 34, 1924).

Garstang, J., *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs, Being a Report of Excavations Made in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan during 1902–3–4* (London, 1907).

Grajetzki, W., *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Archaeology of Female Burials* (Philadelphia, 2014).

Habachi, L., *Elephantine*, vol. IV: *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz am Rhein: AV 33, 1985).

Hassan, S., *Excavations at Gîza*, vol. III: *1931–1932* (Cairo, 1941).

Hayes, W.C., *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I (New York, 1953).

Jánosi, P., *The Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht. The Reliefs* (New York: PMMA 30, 2016).

Jéquier, G., *Les Frises d'Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo: MIFAO 47, 1921).

Jørgensen, M., *Catalogue, Egypt (3000–1550 B.C.)*, vol. I, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1996).

Junker, H., *Gîza*, vol. III: *Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna, Leipzig, 1938).

Kanawati, N., L. Evans, *Beni Hassan,* vol. I: *The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford: ACER 36, 2014).

Kemp, B.J., R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1980).

Klebs, L., *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980–2475 v. Chr.): Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1915).

Kozloff, A.P., B.M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1992).

Lacau, P., H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak. Texte et Planches* (Cairo, 1956).

Lilyquist, Ch., *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III* (New Haven, CT, London, 2003).

Mace, A.C., H.E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York: PMMA 1, 1916).

Markowitz, Y.J., "King Menkaure, The Goddess Hathor, and the Deified Hare Nome", in Y.J. Markowitz, J.L. Haynes, R.E. Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramid*s (Boston, 2002), 56-7 (cat. no. 5).

Marochetti, E.F., "Some Aspects of the Decorative and Cult Program of Twelfth Dynasty Tombs at Qaw el-Kebir", in L. Hudáková, P. Jánosi, A. Kahlbacher (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art. Proceedings of the MeKeTRE Study Day held*

at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 3rd May 2013 (London: MKS 4, 2016), 37-46.

Miniaci, G., *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* (London: GHP Egyptology 17, 2011).

Miniaci, G., "The Collapse of Faience Figurine Production at the End of the Middle Kingdom: Reading the History of an Epoch between Postmodernism and Grand Narrative", *Journal of Egyptian History* 7 (2014), 109-42.

Miniaci, G., S. Quirke, "Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom, The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga", *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 339-83.

Morfoisse-Guénault, F., G. Andreu (eds.), *Sésostris III. Pharaon de Légende*. *Exposition au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, du 10 Octobre 2014 au 26 Janvier 2015* (Gand, 2014).

Müller, H.W., *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches* (Glückstadt: ÄF 9, 1940).

Naville, E., *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahri*, vol. I (London, 1907).

Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hasan*, vol. 1 (London: ASE 1, 1893).

Oppenheim, A., Do. Arnold, Di. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed. The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015).

Reeves, N., *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London, 1990).

Reisner, G.A., *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, 1931).

Richards, J., *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 2005).

Rosati, G., "Ornamenti Preziosi: Gioielli e Amuleti", in A.M. Donadori Roveri (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. La Vita Quotidiana* (Milan, 1987).

Schäfer, H., *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê* (Leipzig, 1908).

Schiestl, R., A. Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom,* vol. I: *The Corpus Volume* (Vienna: DGÖAW 72, CChEM 31, 2012).

Seidlmayer, S.J., "Die Ikonographie des Todes", in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Leiden University, 6–7 June, 1996* (Leuven: OLA 103, 1987), 205-52.

Simpson, W.K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven, Philadelphia: PPYE 5, 1974).

Stadelmann, R., "Der strenge Stil der frühen Vierten Dynastie", in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*. *Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991* (Mainz am Rhein: SDAIK 28, 1995), 155-66.

Whelan, P., "On the Context and Conception of Two 'Trademark' Styles from Late Middle Kingdom Abydos", in G. Miniaci, W. Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC*), vol. II: *Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources* (London: MKS 2, 2016), 285-338.

Wilde, H., "Grabbeigaben und ihre symbolische Bedeutung anhand eines Konvolutes aus Giza (Mastaba D208)", *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 172-87.

Wildung, D., *Sesostris und Amenemhet, Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984).

Willems, H., *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven: OLA 70, 1996).

Zanelli, F., "Frammenti di Decorazione Parietale", in A.M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Passato e Futuro del Museo Egizio Torino* (Turin, 1989), 19-20.

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 41-61

Gefäße – Darstellungen in Wanddekoration und archäologischer Befund. Ein Fallbeispiel aus Assiut

Andrea Kilian

Abstract
This paper presents a case study from Asyut that deals with the relationship between wall decoration and archaeological findings. The main focus lies on the depiction of containers and their presence or absence in the archaeological record. The analysis is based on the decoration of two tombs (Tomb N13.1, end of First Intermediate Period; Tomb I (P10.1), time of Senwosret I) and the objects documented by The Asyut Project. Differences in repertory and decoration will be examined to see if they are chronologically relevant and if changes in the material culture are depicted in wall decoration as well.

Einleitung

Der folgende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit den Zusammenhängen von Wanddekoration und archäologischem Befund in der Nekropole Assiuts. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf der Betrachtung der dargestellten Behältnisse und deren Vorhandensein oder Fehlen im archäologischen Material. Im Folgenden wird exemplarisch anhand der Dekoration zweier Felsgrabanlagen in Assiut untersucht, ob sich chronologisch relevante Unterschiede fassen lassen und ob sich diese in Darstellung und/oder archäologischem Befund widerspiegeln. Im Fokus stehen dabei zwei Felsgräber, deren Dekoration noch heute großflächig erhalten ist: das erst 2005 entdeckte und bis dahin der Wissenschaft unbekannte Grab N13.1[1] sowie die gut bekannte Grabanlage Djefai-Hapis I. (Grab I, P10.1)[2]. Sie stammen aus der späten Ersten Zwischenzeit (N13.1) und der frühen Zwölften Dynastie (Grab I, siehe unten).

1. Kurze Grabungsgeschichte

Assiut war schon frühen Reisenden als historische Stätte bekannt,[3] und zahlreiche Missionen haben auf dem Gebel Asyut al-gharbi Ausgrabungen unternommen.[4] Die Objekte aus dieser Nekropole sind mittlerweile über viele Kontinente verstreut.[5] Die größten Sammlungen an Material aus Assiut befinden sich im Museo Egizio di Torino, dem British Museum, London sowie dem Musée du Louvre, Paris. Dies ist auf drei Missionen zurückzuführen, die zu Beginn des letzten Jahrhunderts in Assiut gearbeitet haben:

- Émile Chassinat und Charles Palanque waren 1903 in Assiut tätig und haben ihre in der Nekropole durchgeführten Arbeiten publiziert.[6] Ein Teil ihrer

[1] Eine umfassende Publikation zur Dekoration von N13.1 ist in Vorbereitung durch Mahmoud El-Khadragy, unter Mitarbeit von Eva Gervers M.A. und Ulrike Dubiel M.A. Einen ersten Überblick gibt Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 79-82. Detaillierter siehe: El-Khadragy, *SAK* 36, 105-35. Zu den Besucherinschriften des Neuen Reichs in N13.1 ist ein ausführlicher Band in Vorbereitung, siehe vorläufig: Verhoeven, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 47-58, und Verhoeven, in Moers *et al.* (Hgg.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 139-58. Vgl. auch: Kahl, *GM* 211, 25-9. Zu den Bild-Dipinti (mit Tusche angefertigte Zeichnungen) siehe: Gervers, *Bildgraffiti in Grab N13.1*.

[2] Eine umfassende Publikation durch Jochem Kahl ist in Vorbereitung. Eine erste Zusammenfassung zu P10.1 erfolgte in: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 86-92. Darüber hinaus siehe: Kahl, *SAK* 37, 205; El-Khadragy, *SAK* 37, 205-6; El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, 41-62; El-Khadragy, *BACE* 18, 125-44; Shafik, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons,* 59-68; Kahl, *SAK* 44, 121-4. Zur Dekoration der Decke siehe: Kahl, *Ornamente*; zur aktuellsten Dokumentation der baulichen Strukturen und besonders des Hauptschachts siehe: Beck, *SAK* 46, 131-41.

[3] Siehe dazu: Kahl, *Die Zeit selbst*.

[4] Siehe eine Zusammenfassung der Grabungsgeschichte in: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 21-33.

[5] Vgl. eine Auflistung in: Zitman, *Necropolis of Assiut,* vol. II, 296-319.

[6] Chassinat, Palanque, *Fouilles Assiout*.

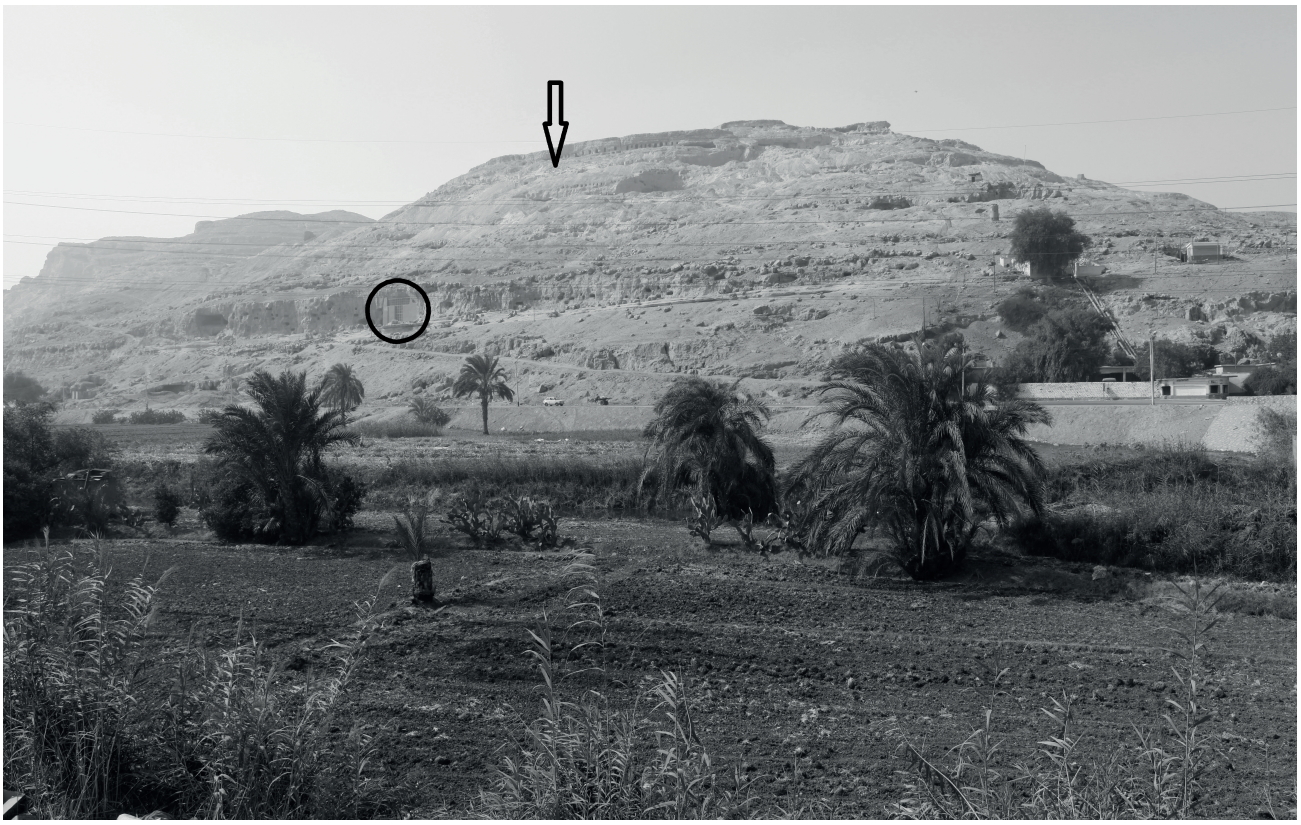


Abb. 1 - Gebel Asyut al-gharbi mit den Gräbern P10.1 (eingekreist) und N13.1 (Pfeil). Foto: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project

Funde befindet sich heute im Musée du Louvre, Paris.

- Ernesto Schiaparelli hat von 1905–1913 insgesamt fünf Kampagnen in Assiut verbracht. Die von ihm gemachten Funde, darunter zahlreiche keramische Gefäße, befinden sich heute im Museo Egizio di Torino (vormals z.T. in der Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte e del Museo di Antichità Egizie). Publikationen oder eine exakte wissenschaftliche Funddokumentation existieren nicht; die Aufarbeitung der Grabungsdokumente ist zurzeit in Arbeit.[7] Die wissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung der Funde dauert ebenfalls noch an.
- David George Hogarth arbeitete von 1906–1907 in der Nekropole Assiuts und übergab die Funde dem British Museum, London. Seine Grabungsdokumentation wurde von Donald Paul Ryan zugänglich gemacht.[8]

Darüber hinaus gab es zahlreiche weitere Ausgrabungen, über die jedoch nur wenig bekannt ist,[9] sowie Arbeiten von Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit der Dokumentation der Inschriften und Grabanlagen beschäftigten.[10]

Das *Asyut Project* hat im Jahr 2003 seine Arbeit auf dem Gebel Asyut al-gharbi aufgenommen und sich eine umfassende Dokumentation der einzelnen Grabanlagen sowie der Funde zum Ziel gesetzt, die vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte der vielfältigen Nutzung des Bergs betrachtet werden.[11] Im Folgenden stehen zwei Grabanlagen im Fokus, die vom *Asyut Project* neu vermessen und dokumentiert (Grab I) bzw. zum ersten Mal überhaupt aufgenommen wurden (N13.1).

2. Lage, Grundriss und Beschreibung von Grab N13.1 und Grab I (P10.1)

Grab N13.1 und Grab I befinden sich auf dem Gebel Asyut al-gharbi im Westgebirge gegenüber der heutigen Stadt Assiut in Mittelägypten (Abb. 1). Grab N13.1 aus der späten Ersten Zwischenzeit befindet sich auf der geologischen Stufe 7, Grab I (P10.1) aus der

[7] U. a. durch Alice Sbriglio und Jochem Kahl.
[8] Ryan, *Archaeological Excavations*.
[9] Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 28-9.
[10] Vgl. den Überblick in: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 21-33.
[11] Kahl, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 4-5. Mittlerweile liegen zahlreiche Artikel und Monographien zu diversen Themengebieten vor, die aus der Arbeit des Projekts hervorgegangen sind. Siehe eine ausführliche Publikationsliste unter: https://www.aegyptologie.uni-mainz.de/publikationenpublications/ <abgerufen am 30.01.2018>.

Zeit Sesostris' I. am Fuß des Bergs auf Stufe 2.[12]

Das aus einer Halle bestehende Felsgrab N13.1 besitzt einen rechteckigen Grundriss von ca. 8 × 9 m mit einer in der Westwand[13] angelegten Nische (Abb. 2). Der Raum wird durch zwei Pfeiler und eine direkt vor den Pfeilern angelegte dreiteilige Abstufung der Decke in zwei Hälften unterteilt. Im Innern befinden sich drei Schächte: Schacht 1 liegt direkt vor der Nische, Schacht 3 im vorderen Bereich südlich des Eingangs. Schacht 2 stammt vermutlich aus späterer Zeit, da er die Dekoration der Südwand schneidet und nicht als vertikaler Schacht angelegt ist, sondern schräg unter die Südwand führt. Die Wände sind geglättet und mit Stuck überzogen, auf dem die ausschließlich gemalte Dekoration angebracht ist; Reliefdekoration oder geschnittene Hieroglyphen gibt es nicht. Das Grab war vollständig dekoriert, inklusive der Abstufungen der Decke (aber nicht der Decke selbst) sowie der beiden Pfeiler. Im nördlichen Teil der Westwand gibt es einen Rücksprung (siehe Abb. 2), der ebenfalls dekoriert ist. Der Boden ist heute aufgrund von Nachnutzungen uneben. Der Besitzer von Grab N13.1, Iti-ibi(-iqer), war vermutlich der Nachfolger von Cheti II.,[14] dem Besitzer von Grab IV (N12.2). Er trug die Titel *ḥ3.tj-ˁ ḫtm.tj-bj.tj smr wˁ.tj* und war Vorsteher der Priester des 'Upuaut, Herrn von Assiut' und des 'Anubis, Herrn von Raqereret'.[15] Das Grab datiert in die Zeit Mentuhoteps II.[16]

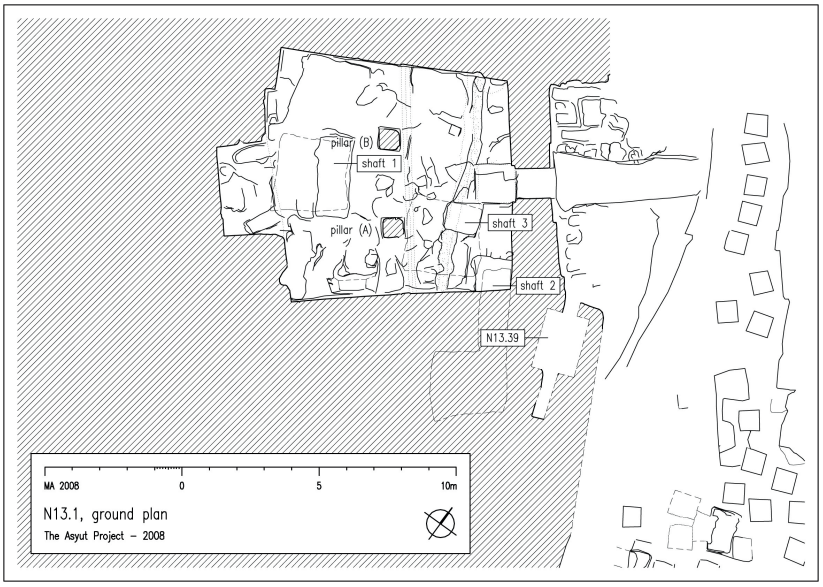


Abb. 2 - Grab N13.1, Grundriss. Plan: Manja Maschke 2008, © The Asyut Project

Grab I (P10.1) ist der Wissenschaft schon länger bekannt,[17] eine erste Bauaufnahme erfolgte bereits durch die Französische Expedition unter Napoleon Bonaparte.[18] Die in der geologischen Stufe 2 errichtete Anlage, die heute noch 55 m tief in den Fels reicht, wird durch einen steilen, geknickten Aufweg erreicht, der in einem nicht mehr erhaltenen ersten Raum endet (Abb. 3, „first hall").[19] Die heute noch anstehende, an diesen Raum anschließende erste Passage ist 11 m hoch und besitzt eine gewölbte Decke; die Deckenhöhe der Raumfolge nimmt ins Innere hinein ab.[20] Auch Grab I war vollständig dekoriert und besitzt gemalte sowie reliefierte Szenen und Hieroglyphen. In der ersten heute noch vollständig erhaltenen großen Querhalle befindet sich eine Abbildung des Grabbesitzers Djefai-Hapi I. im Adorationsgestus vor den Kartuschen Sesostris' I., womit Grab I (P10.1) in die Regierungszeit dieses Pharaos datiert werden kann. Der Gaufürst Djefai-Hapi I. trug u.a. die Titel *jri-pˁ.t* sowie *ḥ3.tj-ˁ* und war u.a., wie auch Iti-ibi(-iqer), Vorsteher der Priester des 'Upuaut, Herrn von Assiut' und des 'Anubis, Herrn von Raqereret'.[21]

3. Dekoration und archäologischer Befund

Im Folgenden werden die Szenen in Grab N13.1 und Grab I beschrieben, in denen Behältnisse dargestellt sind.[22] Zum Verständnis der Gesamtkonzeption werden

[12] Zur Einteilung des Bergs in verschiedene geologische Stufen siehe: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 59-61, Abb. 33.

[13] Die Angabe der Himmelsrichtung orientiert sich an der ägyptologischen Konvention, wonach die Scheintür im Westen liegt.

[14] El-Khadragy, *SAK* 36, 113-4.

[15] Zu den Gaufürsten Assiuts siehe: El-Khadragy, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 31-46.

[16] Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 17, 79; El-Khadragy, *SAK* 36, 116-8; Kahl, in Frood, McDonald (Hgg.), *Decorum and Experience*, 145.

[17] Siehe die Literaturangaben in: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 86.

[18] Einen Abgleich zwischen dieser Bauaufnahme und der des *Asyut Project* gibt Beck, *SAK* 46, 131-41.

[19] Zur Konzeption von Grab I, die sich an Anlagen des Alten Reichs orientiert, siehe: Kahl, *SAK* 44, 121-4. Zur Rekonstruktion und Beschreibung der Gesamtanlage siehe: Engel, Kahl, in Popielska-Grzybowska, Białostocka, Iwaszczuk (Hgg.), *Proceedings*, 55-64.

[20] Engel, Kahl, in Popielska-Grzybowska, Białostocka, Iwaszczuk (Hgg.), *Proceedings*, 60, Abb. 17; El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, 42, Abb. 1.

[21] El-Khadragy, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 41.

[22] Die Faksimiles beider Grabanlagen sind noch nicht abschließend kollationiert und befinden sich zurzeit in Bearbeitung.

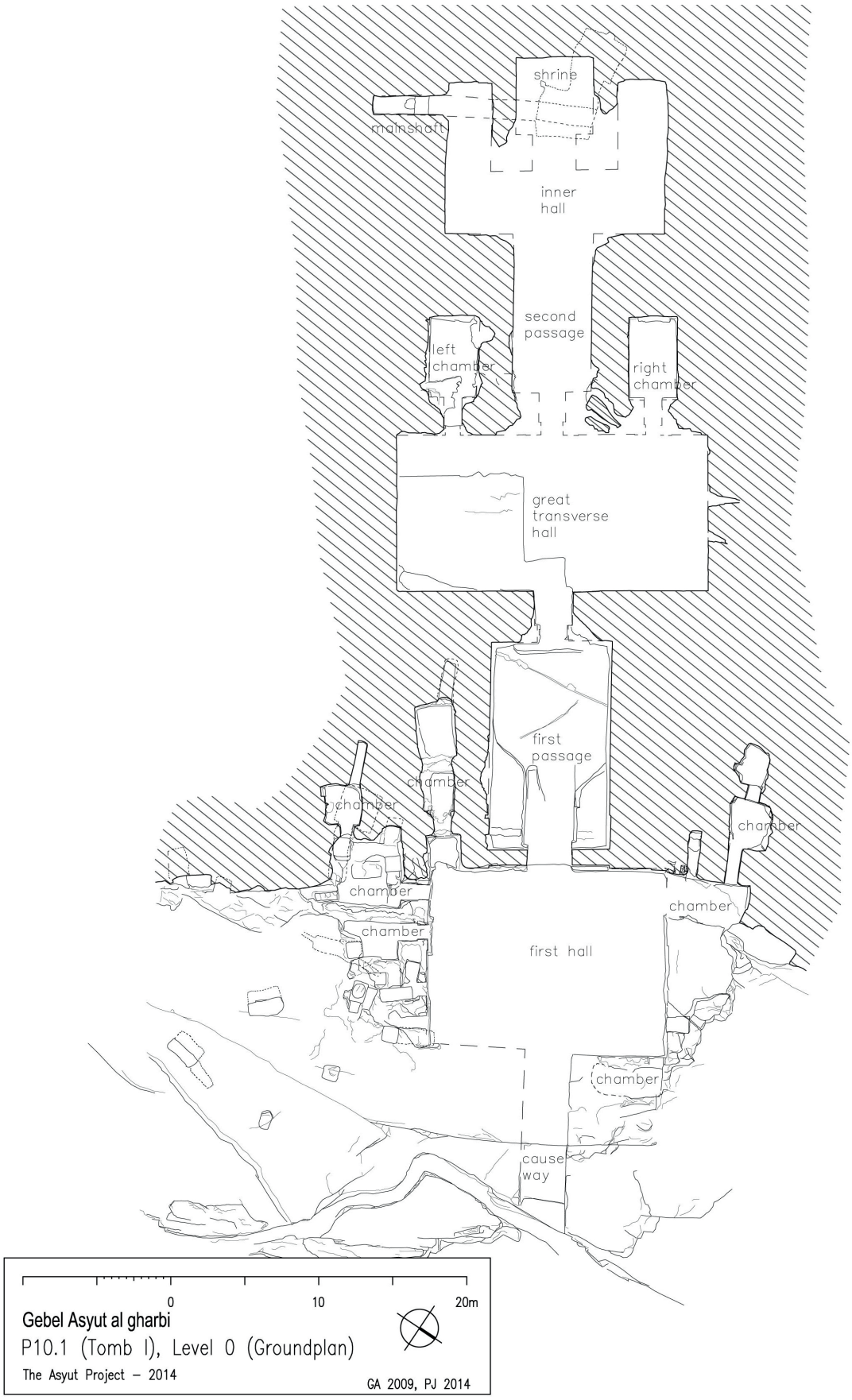


Abb. 3 - Grab I (P10.1), Grundriss. Plan: Corinna Gabert 2009, Philipp Jansen 2014, © The Asyut Project

der Szenenzusammenhang und die Einbettung in die Gesamtdekoration kurz erläutert, eine ausführliche Publikation beider Grabanlagen ist in Vorbereitung (s.o.).

3.1 Grab N13.1

Um einen möglichst guten Überblick über das Dekorationsprogramm von Grab N13.1 zu bieten, wird jede Wand einzeln besprochen. Dies erfolgt gegen den Uhrzeigersinn ausgehend von der Nordwand.

3.1.1 Grab N13.1 – Nordwand

Auf der Nordwand befinden sich drei große Szenen, die u.a. den Grabherrn beim Beaufsichtigen von Rinderherden bzw. vor seiner Frau zeigen, die ihm ein Menit reicht. Während im Register unter der Viehherde Soldaten und das Scheffeln von Getreide dargestellt sind, sind unterhalb des Grabherrn und der Frau Bootsszenen angebracht. Innerhalb dieser Szene begegnen die ersten keramischen Gefäße, die auf einem Boot abgebildet sind (Pl. V.3a-b). Neben einem stehenden Gefäß sind zwei weitere liegende Gefäße zu sehen sowie möglicherweise noch ein viertes, das von einer Person gehalten wird. Sie sind mit gelber Farbe gemalt, die möglicherweise im Gegensatz zum häufiger verwendeten rot-braunen Nilton den helleren, teils creme- bis gelblichfarbigen Mergelton darstellen soll. Gefäße aus Mergelton sind im archäologischen Befund Assiuts der Ersten Zwischenzeit und des Mittleren Reichs selten belegt und machen nur ca. 1% des Gesamtmaterials aus. Die in der Bootsszene dargestellte Gefäßform ist im keramischen Material nicht vorhanden. Sie findet sich allerdings innerhalb der Objektgattung der Holzmodelle.[23] Da die Szene sehr zerstört ist, liefert sie keine direkten Hinweise zur Funktion der Gefäße, die aber mit der Versorgung des Toten in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können.[24]

Die benachbarte Szene beschäftigt sich mit Getreide. Zwei übereinander dargestellte Arbeiter sind mit dem Scheffeln von Korn beschäftigt; hinter ihnen stehen zwei Schreiber und notieren das Ergebnis, während sich an der Ostwand die Darstellung eines Getreidespeichers anschließt (Pl. V.3c-d). Die Getreidescheffel selbst sind im materiellen Befund in Form von Holzmodellen erhalten.[25]

3.1.2 Grab N13.1 – Westwand

Im nördlichen Teil der Westwand finden sich im untersten Register weitere Bootsdarstellungen, während in den Registern darüber Kraniche[26] sowie männliche und weibliche Personen kniend und stehend beim Musizieren abgebildet sind. Am Rücksprung in der Mitte des nördlichen Teils der Westwand begegnen dann die nächsten Behältnisse (Pl. VI.1a-b). Dort sind Opferträger dargestellt, die diverse Gaben herbeibringen. Ihre Bewegungsrichtung führt sie dabei zum Grabherrn, der auf dem südlichen Teil der nördlichen Hälfte der Westwand direkt im Anschluss an den Rücksprung unter einem Pavillon sitzt. Bei den Behältnissen, die in Gelb mit schwarzer Binnenzeichnung gemalt sind, handelt es sich um Körbe. Diese kommen häufig in Opferszenen vor und sind auch in Holzmodellen, besonders in den Händen von Opferträgerinnen,[27] oft belegt. Auch im vom *Asyut Project* geborgenen Material gibt es solche Modelle, die Körbe in der gleichen Farbgebung zeigen.[28]

Der südliche Teil des nördlichen Bereichs der Westwand direkt nach dem Rücksprung zeigt weitere Opferszenen, in denen diverse Gefäße zum Einsatz kommen: Vor dem Grabherrn Iti-ibi(-iqer), der in einem Pavillon sitzt, befinden sich in den oberen Registern Schlachtungsszenen, während in den beiden unteren Registern Gefäße herbeigetragen werden bzw. aufgestellt sind (Pl. VI.2a-b). Hier kommen unterschiedliche Formen zum Einsatz (Pl. VII): ovoide rote Flaschen mit spitzem, hohem schwarzem Gefäßverschluss (Pl. VII, rote Kästen), flache und tiefe Schalen (Pl. VII: grüner bzw. blauer Kasten) sowie gelbe Flaschen mit flachem schwarzem Gefäßverschluss (Pl. VII, gelbe Kästen).

Die (in Pl. VII: Abb. 7 rot umrandeten) ovoiden roten Gefäße mit schwarzem Gefäßverschluss

[23] Siehe zum Verhältnis von Dekoration und Modellen: Zöller-Engelhardt, *Correlations of Wooden Model Equipment and Wall Decorations* (in Vorbereitung). Vgl. die Gefäße in: Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 117 (M323-M324). Eine sehr ähnliche Gefäßform findet sich auch im Grab des Mesehti: Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, Tf. 40, 44. Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Dr. Monika Zöller-Engelhardt.

[24] In Berman, *Catalogue*, 205 (no. 153), sind zwei ähnliche Gefäße abgebildet, die ebd. als „large storage jars" angesprochen werden. Sie sind ebenfalls gelb bemalt und mit einem schwarzen Gefäßverschluss versehen, ihr unteres Ende ruht in einem Gefäßständer. Für diesen Hinweis danke ich Eva Gervers M.A. Dieter Arnold (*Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, Tf. 33e) spricht ähnliche Gefäße als Wasserkrüge an.

[25] Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 119 (M331), 125 (M360).

[26] Verhoeven, in Kessler *et al.* (Hgg.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente*, 441, Abb. 3.

[27] Siehe z.B.: Chassinat, Palanque, *Fouilles Assiout*, Tf. 4-5, 9-10, 34.1 (im Hintergrund neben der Statue von Wep-wawet-em-hat, dieselbe einzeln auf Tf. 35.1).

[28] Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 95, Abb. 5, Tf. 7a-b; Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 107 (M289), 110 (M303).

finden ihre Entsprechung nicht nur im Inventar der Holzmodelle[29], sondern auch in der Keramik selbst (Pl. XIII: links oben).[30] Die Flaschen sind aus Nilton hergestellt und weisen eine rote Oberfläche auf, die teils tongrundig belassen wurde, teils auch mit roter Farbe überzogen war. Interessanterweise befanden sie sich nicht nur in bemerkenswert gutem Zustand und konnten fast vollständig rekonstruiert werden, sondern stammen darüber hinaus aus der Seitenkammer von Schacht 4 in Grab III. Dieser Schacht war der Wissenschaft vor Aufnahme der Reinigungsarbeiten des *Asyut Project* noch nicht bekannt und offenbar seit byzantinischer Zeit ungestört.[31] Die Herkunft aus der Seitenkammer und der gute Erhaltungszustand, der in starkem Gegensatz zum schlechten Erhaltungsgrad der Gefäße aus späterer Zeit steht, die ebenfalls in der Schachtverfüllung enthalten waren, deuten darauf, dass die ovoiden Flaschen noch zum originalen Inventar von Schacht 4 gehört haben könnten.[32] Sie finden sich ausschließlich in der Seitenkammer dieses Schachts und sind ansonsten in Assiut selten belegt.[33]

Mit flachen und tiefen Schalen sind auch offene Formen im keramischen Spektrum vorhanden. Während die Darstellung der in Pl. VII blau umrandeten tiefen Schale in roter Farbe zu stark beschädigt ist, um Auskunft über ihren eventuellen Inhalt geben zu können, finden die beiden kleineren und flacheren Schalen in Pl. VII (grün umrandet) als Räuchergefäß Verwendung, wobei eine Schale das Räuchermaterial aufnimmt und eine weitere als Deckel genutzt wird. Auch die kleinen Schalen sind in roter Farbe wiedergegeben. Beide Varianten finden sich im archäologischen Material (Abb. 4-5). Sie sind aus Nilton hergestellt und in der Regel mit roter Farbe überzogen, können aber auch tongrundig belassen sein. Einige wenige der kleinen Schalen weisen Schmauchspuren im Inneren auf, was für eine Nutzung als Räuchergefäß (oder auch als Lampe) sprechen könnte.

Mit den gelben Gefäßen, die auf der Seite liegend dargestellt sind, könnten die gleichen Gefäße gemeint sein wie die in der Bootsszene dargestellten Exemplare (s.o.). Ungewöhnlich sind hier die flachen schwarzen Gefäßverschlüsse. Wie für das Gefäß auf dem Boot, gibt es auch für diese hier keine Entsprechung im archäologischen Befund. Etwas anders verhält es sich mit dem direkt benachbarten, aber rot gemalten Gefäß, das sich auf demselben Tisch befindet wie seine gelben Gegenstücke. Ein solches rotes Gefäß ist als Holzmodell[34] belegt, findet aber ebenfalls keine keramische Entsprechung im Assiuter Material. Die rote Farbe ist auffällig, denn sie unterscheidet sich deutlich von dem sonst für keramische Gefäße in Grab N13.1 verwendeten dunklen Rot-Ton und ist heller, fast orange.

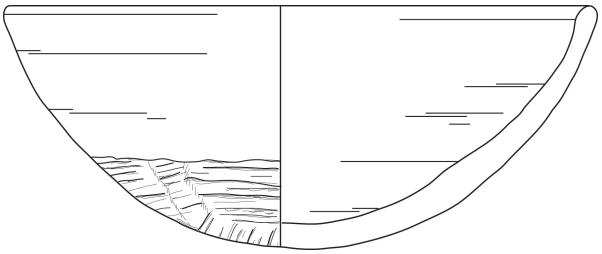


Abb. 4 - ZN12/107.3 (aus S12/st137), Nilton B (NI.1), Durchmesser: 15,2 cm, Höhe: 6,3 cm, Oberfläche außen und innen mit roter Farbe überzogen. Herkunft: Grab H11.1, Schacht 3. Zeichnung und Umzeichnung: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project

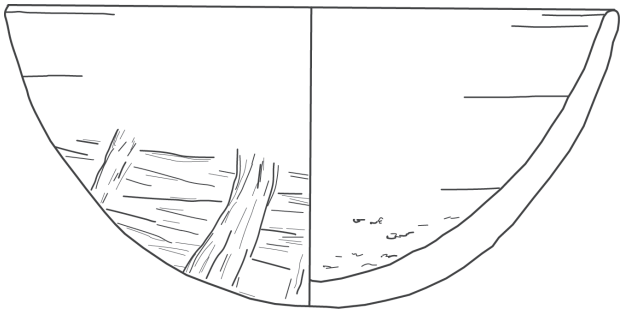


Abb. 5 - N13.11.10 (S07/st1132), Nilton B (NI.2), Durchmesser: 11,2 cm, Höhe: 5,9 cm, Oberfläche innen und außen tongrundig belassen. Herkunft: Grab N13.11. Zeichnung und Umzeichnung: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project

3.1.3 Grab N13.1 – Westnische, Nordwand

An der Nordwand der Westnische befindet sich eine Opferliste mit Szenen des Grabherrn und einer Frau[35] vor einem Opfertisch. Das unterste Register zeigt Schlachtungsszenen; oberhalb der Opferliste sind

[29] Vgl. Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 96, Abb. 9; Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 105-6 (M280-M285). Diese Modelle tragen ebenfalls den spitzen schwarzen Gefäßverschluss.

[30] Siehe: Kahl, Engel, Sanhueza-Pino, in Schiestl, Seiler (Hgg.), *Handbook*, vol. II, 269, Abb. 7.4, 7.7, 7.10.

[31] Kahl, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, xxi. Siehe auch: Kilian, *Keramik Mittelägyptens*.

[32] Siehe hierzu: Kilian, *Keramik Mittelägyptens*.

[33] Mit Ausnahme einer weiteren Flasche aus der Bestattung des Minhotep aus Assiut, die in der Dauerausstellung des Museo Egizio di Torino zu sehen ist. Zum Zeitpunkt der Aufnahme des Turiner Museumsbestands an Keramik aus Assiut waren die Gefäße innerhalb der Ausstellung nicht zugänglich; die Inventarnummer war von außen nicht zu erkennen.

[34] Siehe: Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 64-5 (M130).

[35] Die Beischrift ist sehr schlecht erhalten, daher ist nicht klar, um wen genau es sich hier handelt.

Priester mit Gefäßen dargestellt, zwei große Gefäße befinden sich links neben der Opferliste.

Bei dem Behältnis, das in der Schlachtungsszene zum Einsatz kommt, handelt es sich, wie bei der Darstellung auf dem Rücksprung der Westwand, um einen Korb, der in gelber Farbe mit schwarzer Binnenzeichnung gestaltet ist (Pl. VIII.1a-b). In diesem Korb befinden sich diverse Fleischstücke. Parallelen finden sich auch hier wieder unter den Holzmodellen, in diesem Fall allerdings nicht aus Assiut selbst. Ein Beispiel stammt aus dem Grab des Meketre aus Theben, in dem eine Opferträgerin entdeckt wurde, deren Korbinhalt ebenfalls aus (hölzernen) Fleischstücken in ganz ähnlicher Zusammensetzung wie der aus Grab N13.1 besteht.[36] In Deir el-Bersche wurden solche Körbe aus Kartonnage hergestellt; die Opfergaben in diesen Körben waren aus Ton geformt und in unterschiedlichen Farben bemalt.[37] Hier wurde in unterschiedlichen Medien jeweils das Gleiche dargestellt, was für die Bedeutung spricht, die diesen Fleischopfern beigemessen wurde.[38]

Im obersten Register sind Gefäße im Rahmen von Kulthandlungen (Speiseopferritual)[39] abgebildet, innerhalb derer sie zum Einsatz kommen. Zu erkennen ist eine Reinigungsszene, in der eine gelb bemalte *ḥs.t*-Flasche verwendet wird (Pl. VIII.3a-b). Ein Priester gießt Wasser aus der *ḥs.t*-Flasche auf den Boden vor einer weiteren Person. Links davon befindet sich eine Person, die ein ovoides Gefäß trägt (Pl. IX.1a). Der Erhaltungszustand lässt eine genaue Einordnung des Gefäßes nicht zu. Erkennbar ist, dass es wie die *ḥs.t*-Flaschen in Pl. X.1a zweifarbig gestaltet ist – Öffnung und Schulter sind blau, der Bereich darunter gelb –, allerdings im Gegensatz zu diesen Flaschen einen Trichterhals besitzt; die Bodenpartie ist zerstört. Noch weiter links ist eine weitere Person dargestellt, die ein ebenfalls gelbes, hohes Gefäß mit konkaven Seiten trägt, das zur Aufnahme von Salben und Ölen diente (Pl. IX.1a-b).[40] Diese Gefäße sind in Assiut als Steingefäße belegt.[41] Aus Grab N11.1 stammt zudem ein tönernes Gefäß, das möglicherweise diesen Gefäßtyp imitiert.[42]

Links neben der Opferliste unterhalb der Verklärungsszene sind zwei weitere Gefäße dargestellt: ein hohes Gefäß mit konkaven Wänden sowie darüber ein bauchiges Gefäß mit Henkeln (Pl. VIII.2a-b). Das konkave Gefäß ist auch hier gelb bemalt, aber – im Gegensatz zur Darstellung im Speiseopferritual – mit einem roten Deckel abgedeckt. Die gelbe Farbe könnte hier wieder Metall/Gold meinen.[43] Das bauchige Gefäß oberhalb des konkaven Gefäßes ist zweifarbig gestaltet: Der untere Teil ist in einem hellen Farbton gefleckt und scheint Stein zu imitieren, während die obere Hälfte rot ist.[44] Die Henkel sind ebenfalls rot und enden im helleren unteren Bereich des Gefäßes. Der Hals ist sehr kurz. Heinrich Balcz geht davon aus, dass es sich bei solchen dunkelrötlichen bis braunen oberen Bereichen von Gefäßen um die zeichnerische Umsetzung einer Abdeckung aus Leder zum Zweck des Verschließens der Gefäße handelt.[45] Die Funktion der Henkel, die hier im hellen Bereich des Gefäßes enden, erschließt sich dabei nicht ganz. Entweder besaßen sie keine Verbindung zum unteren Gefäßteil oder aber die Henkel selbst waren ebenfalls mit Leder überzogen (zur besseren Griffigkeit oder Stabilisierung?). Solche bauchigen Gefäße dienten, wie auch die konkaven *b3s.t*-Gefäße, der Aufnahme von Salben.[46] Beide Gefäße weisen also einen starken Bezug zur Opferliste auf, neben der sie sich befinden.

3.1.4 Grab N13.1 – Westnische, Westwand

Die Westwand der Nische zeigt weitere Opferszenen sowie mittig eine Scheintür mit zwei Männern und Opfertisch. In den Szenen um die Scheintür herum

[36] Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, Tf. 31. Zur Farbgebung siehe die heute im Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York befindliche Statue acc. no. 20.3.7.

[37] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 26-7: Abb. 2, 35: Abb. 1.

[38] In den Körben von Opferträgern, in Wanddarstellungen, auf steinernen und auch tönernen Opfertellern (hierzu Kilian, in Kahl *et al*. (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 105-18) sowie in Seelenhäusern sind immer wieder diese Opfergaben, ergänzt durch Brot und Bier, abgebildet; ebenso in sehr individuell gefertigten und singulären Beigaben wie z.B. einem aus Ton geformten Ensemble von ursprünglich zehn sitzenden Menschen, einem Tisch mit Rund- und Fladenbroten, länglichen Objekten mit Rillen und zwei Krügen auf gemeinsamer tönerner Basis, siehe: Capart, *ASAE* 27, 47-8. Der Ausgräber geht davon aus, dass dieses Ensemble zum im selben Grab gefundenen Seelenhaus gehört.

[39] Für Vergleiche mit der vollständigen Szene siehe: Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 84, Abb. 19. Diese Szene ist nicht auf Grabwände beschränkt und findet sich z.B. auch auf dem Sarg des Upuaut-Nacht aus Assiut, siehe: Eggebrecht (Hg.), *Ägypten*, 94, T 35.

[40] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 83, Abb. 106.

[41] Zitman, *Necropolis of Asyut*, vol. II, 97 (Abb. 25.9), 100 (Abb. 26.9-11).

[42] Kilian, *Keramik Mittelägyptens*, S08/st566.

[43] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 76-7, mit dem Hinweis, dass gelbe Farbe auch für Tongefäße verwendet wird.

[44] Vgl. für eine ähnliche Darstellung auf einem Assiuter Sarg: D'Amicone, Pozzi Battaglia (Hgg.), *Egitto Mai Visto*, 198-9 (Kat. 6.5, Abb. 6.5b). Auch diese drei Gefäße, die auf einem Tisch stehen, besitzen einen ausgestellten Fuß, einen – allerdings schwarz-weißen – gefleckten unteren Bereich und eine rote obere Hälfte. Henkel besitzen sie nicht.

[45] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 78.

[46] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 88. Vgl. ebd. 90, Abb. 116b.

werden diverse Behältnisse gezeigt, die herbeigetragen werden oder schon aufgebaut sind. Im obersten Register befinden sich links und rechts der zentralen Scheintür Gestelle mit Gefäßen darin oder Tische, auf denen Gefäße aufgestellt sind (Pls. IX.2a-b, X.1a-b). Rechter Hand sind Gefäße mit Henkel und bauchige Gefäße mit Ausguss auf Tischen dargestellt (Pl. IX.2a-b). Auf dem rechten Tisch befindet sich rechts außen ein Behältnis mit zwei kleinen Henkeln, dessen oberer Teil mit der ausladenden Schulter, langem Hals und waagerechten Deckel oder Öffnung rot wiedergegeben ist, während Henkel und unterer, schmaler werdender Bereich wieder in der gleichen hell-dunkel-Färbung gemalt sind wie schon das bauchige Gefäß in Pl. VIII.2a. Der Boden dieses *ḫnm*-Gefäßes verbreitert sich leicht. Von der Öffnung/dem Deckel des Gefäßes führt eine Art Schnur (?) bis zum Ende des rot gefärbten Gefäßbereiches.[47] Solche Flaschen dienten der Aufnahme von Öl und Wein,[48] was sie ebenfalls mit der Opferliste in Verbindung bringt. Mittig befindet sich ein blau-gelb bemaltes Gefäß in Gestalt einer *ḥs.t*-Flasche mit sehr breitem, rotem, flachem Deckel auf der blauen Öffnung mit blauem Hals und Schultern sowie gelbem unterem Gefäßteil. Links davon befindet sich eine weitere *ḫnm*-Flasche, diesmal allerdings mit einem langen Henkel und rotem Deckel. Sie besitzt ebenfalls einen flachen Standboden. Der Henkel führt links von der Mündung/dem Deckel bis zur breitesten Gefäßstelle und ist im selben gelben Farbton bemalt wie der Gefäßkörper.

Auf dem linken Tisch sind rechts und links zwei blaue, kanopenartige Gefäße mit langem Ausguss abgebildet, von dem das rechte einen kleinen Deckel besitzt. In den Darstellungen des Alten Reichs sind solche Ausgussgefäße zusammen mit einer geradwandigen Schüssel Teil des Waschgeschirrs.[49] Es könnte sich hier aber auch um *snb.t*-Krüge handeln, die als Wassergefäße dienten,[50] doch fehlt den Darstellungen in Grab N13.1 der für diese Gefäße charakteristische Wulstrand. Zwischen den beiden kanopenförmigen Gießgefäßen ist ein in Blau und Gelb wiedergegebenes drittes Gefäß dargestellt, das ebenfalls einen Ausguss aufweist. Reste eines blauen Gefäßverschlusses sind noch sichtbar. Die Gefäßform kann nicht eindeutig identifiziert werden, allerdings weisen Farbreste unterhalb der Tischplatte und die blau-gelbe Färbung darauf hin, dass es sich hier um eine *ḥs.t*-Flasche handeln könnte, wie sie sich auch in der linken Szene auf dem linken Tisch finden (Pl. X.1a-b, rechts außen eine Flasche mit Ausguss, die anderen besitzen keine Gießvorrichtung).

Links der Scheintür finden sich zwei weitere Darstellungen von Tischen mit Gefäßen (Pl. X.1a-b). Auf dem linken Gestell sind die sechs eben erwähnten *ḥs.t*-Flaschen mit blauem Gefäßverschluss und blauem Schulterbereich auf gelbem Körper aufgebaut, rechts daneben befindet sich ein weiterer Tisch mit drei Gefäßen: einem bauchigen blauen Behältnis mit rotem Rand (Pl. X.1a-b rechter Tisch, rechts außen), einem hohen gelben Gefäß mit rotem Rand oder Deckel (Pl. X.1a-b rechter Tisch, links außen) und mittig einem Gefäß mit blauem Deckel auf rotem Schulterbereich, dessen unterer Bereich wieder hell gefleckt ist. Die Farbgebung der Flecken entspricht dabei dem schon aus Pls. VIII.2a und IX.2a bekannten Muster. An diesem Gefäß befindet sich links eine blaue Lotosblüte oder ein Ausguss in Gestalt einer Lotosblüte.

Während diese Gefäße aufgrund der Farbgebung vermuten lassen, dass es sich um Metall- resp. Steingefäße handelt, sind in der unteren Szene zwei Diener damit beschäftigt, ein weiteres Gestell für Gefäße herbeizutragen, von denen zwei aus Keramik sein könnten (Pl. X.2a-b). Mittig auf diesem Gestell befindet sich wieder eine *ḥs.t*-Flasche im schon bekannten blau-gelben Design, während zu beiden Seiten der Flasche große rote Schalen dargestellt sind, auf denen sich Deckel aus Korbgeflecht[51] befinden. Der rechte Deckel besitzt eine zentrale Schlaufe auf dem Scheitelpunkt des Korbs/der Abdeckung, rechts und links davon hängen (Lotos?-)Blüten oder Knospen herab. Dies ist auch beim linken Gefäß der Fall, allerdings sind dort Knospen statt Blüten zu erkennen und sie setzen nicht am Scheitelpunkt der Abdeckung, sondern seitlich an. Mittig scheint dagegen eine Art senkrechter Griff anstelle einer Schlaufe angebracht zu sein; eine Blüte mit blauen Kelchblättern und Blütenblättern in Gelb und Rot-orange befindet sich daneben auf der rechten Seite der Handhabe. Die roten Schalen sind in beiden Fällen breiter als die blaue Abdeckung. Zum Inhalt der Schalen gibt es keine Angaben.

[47] Vgl. die Darstellungen in: Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 93, Abb. 121.
[48] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 94.
[49] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 95-6. Sie befinden sich häufig unterhalb des Opfertisches in der Speisetischszene (siehe hierzu auch Abb. 25 weiter unten aus dem Schrein von Grab I, wo sie unterhalb des Opfertisches vor Djefai-Hapi I. dargestellt sind).
[50] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 48. Vgl. auch ebd., 47, Abb. 47b, wo, wie auch hier, eine *ḥs.t*-Flasche zwischen zwei solchen Gefäßen steht.
[51] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 77. Vgl. auch die Darstellung auf einem Sarg aus Saqqara in: Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Tf. 6 (obere Abbildung, mittleres Bildfeld, rechts oben). Dieser Deckel – sehr wahrscheinlich Flechtwerk – ist ebenfalls mit blühenden Lotosblumen geschmückt; seine Innenzeichnung besteht aus parallel zum Deckelrand verlaufenden Linien.

3.1.5 Grab N13.1 – Südwand, östlicher Teil

Die letzte Szene, in der keramische Gefäße zu sehen sind, ist im östlichen Bereich der Südwand angebracht. Unter einer großformatigen Szene, die den Grabbesitzer Iti-ibi(-iqer) vor seinem Vorgänger Cheti II. zeigt,[52] sind weitere drei Register angelegt. Zwei davon zeigen agrikulturelle Szenen, während die unterste sich mit dem Backen/Brauen beschäftigt. Dabei kommen in der rechten Hälfte der Szene große Bottiche zum Einsatz (Pl. XI.1a-b), von denen sich im archäologischen Befund nichts erhalten hat.[53] Auch die Gefäße in einem Netz, die von einem Arbeiter mithilfe eines Jochs herbeigetragen werden, sind nicht belegt.[54] Aber auch hier finden sich wieder Belege unter den Holzmodellen: Die beiden in je einem Bottich stehenden Personen sind in Modellform belegt.[55] Nebenan ist ein weiterer Arbeiter mit dem Durchseihen der Masse beschäftigt; diese Szene liegt ebenfalls in Holzmodell-Form vor.[56] Da die Modelle als Einzelfunde ohne Einbindung in eine Szene vorgefunden wurden, bleibt eine abschließende Deutung allerdings offen.

Die linke Hälfte der Szene zeigt das Backen von Aperet-Brot (Pl. XI.2a-b).[57] Eine Frau[58] sitzt rechts vor einem Aufbau zum Backen dieser Fladenbrote, während links ein Mann den Aufbau fertig zu stellen scheint. Die Szene selbst ist beschädigt und schwer erkennbar, aber parallele Szenen an Wanddekoration zeigen ganz ähnliche Arrangements wie die Assiuter Szene,[59] die auch in Form von Holzmodellen[60] begegnet.

Die tatsächlich verwendeten Aperet-Formen waren groß und flach; das Brot selbst erinnert an Fladenbrot.[61] In Assiut wurden solche flachen Formen bisher nicht gefunden. Die – selten vorhandenen – Varianten sind in der Regel deutlich kleiner und besitzen eine höhere Wandung, die Innenseite weist oftmals einen Sand-Schlicker-Überzug auf (Abb. 6).

3.1.6 Grab N13.1 – Zusammenfassung

In Grab N13.1 sind Behältnisse aus

- Flechtwerk
- Metall
- Stein
- Holz
- Keramik

dargestellt. Körbe finden sich dabei in zwei Kontexten, die mit dem Herbeibringen von Gaben, besonders Fleischstücken, zu tun haben: am Rücksprung in der Westwand (Pl. VI.1a-b), auf dem Gabenbringer angebracht sind, sowie an der Nordwand der Nische (Pl. VIII.1a-b) unter der Opferliste in einer Schlachtungsszene, wo ein Korb neben einem geschlachteten Rind steht, das gerade zerlegt wird. Deckel aus Flechtwerk sind an der Westwand der Nische ebenfalls dargestellt.

Metallgefäße sind in Wanddarstellungen nicht immer eindeutig als solche zu identifizieren. In der Regel unterscheiden sie sich durch ihre blaue Farbe, die Kupfer oder Fayence kodiert,[62] oder durch eine gelbe

[52] Diese Szene ist publiziert von: El-Khadragy, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 35, Abb. 4.

[53] Hier gilt zu berücksichtigen, dass in dieser Szene, die die alltägliche Produktion von Lebensmitteln zeigt, Gefäße zum Einsatz kommen, die zur Herstellung von Produkten benutzt werden. Funde solcher Gefäßformen sind mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit innerhalb der Siedlungskeramik zu erwarten, die jedoch in Assiut nicht zugänglich ist, da die moderne Stadt das antike Assiut völlig überdeckt.

[54] Dabei handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um Wassergefäße: Während im Alten Reich große Bottiche dargestellt waren, die vermutlich das benötigte Wasser enthielten, vermerkt Mag. Dr. Lubica Hudáková, dass „the Middle Kingdom wooden models representing bakeries or breweries often show workers carrying water jars on a yoke. In two-dimensional art of that period the motif only appears in the tomb of Amenemhat." Hudáková, in Budka, Gundacker, Pieke (Hgg.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 174 (mit Verweisen).

[55] Z.B. in: D'Amicone, Pozzi Battaglia (Hgg.), *Egitto Mai Visto*, 256 (Kat. 8.20).

[56] Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, Tf. 7d; Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 50-1 (M80), 110-1 (M304), 118-9 (M328-329).

[57] Für die Identifikation dieser Szene danke ich Eva Gervers M.A. Ihrer detailreichen Analyse entstammt der Hinweis, dass es sich hier nicht um rote Opferständer handelt, sondern um einen Aufbau zum Backen von Aperet-Brot.

[58] Dies ist insofern ungewöhnlich, als die Darstellung von Frauen in Szenen der Aperet-Brotherstellung selten belegt ist. Für diesen Hinweis danke ich Mag. Dr. Lubica Hudáková. Siehe: Hudáková, in Budka, Gundacker, Pieke (Hgg.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 170.

[59] Siehe z.B.: Faltings, *Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion*, 74ff. (mit weiteren Beispielen, ebenso für Holzmodelle, besonders 71-2). Speziell zu dieser Szene siehe: Hudáková, in Budka, Gundacker, Pieke (Hgg.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum* 170-2, Abb. 5.

[60] Faltings, *Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion*, 71-2; D'Amicone, Pozzi Battaglia (Hgg.), *Egitto Mai Visto*, 256-7 (Kat. 8.21 – ein merkwürdig anmutendes Modell, das allerdings eine gute Ansicht eines rundplastisch umgesetzten Aperet-Ofens bietet). Möglicherweise auch ein Objekt aus den laufenden Feldarbeiten des *Asyut Projects*: Zöller-Engelhardt, in Kahl *et al.*, *Tomb III*, 107 (M290), aus Grab III, Schacht 3, Seitenkammer.

[61] Faltings, *Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion*, 84-5, Abb. 6a-b.

[62] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 78. Siehe dort auch zur Problematik der Farbgebung, die nicht immer konsistent ist und nicht immer

Farbgebung, die häufig für Gold steht.[63] Sie finden sich in Grab N13.1 an der Nordwand der Nische in der Speiseopferszene über der Opferliste sowie neben der Opferliste (Pls. VIII.2a-b, VIII.3a-b, IX.1a-b), unter der der Grabherr vor einem Speisetisch sitzt. Darüber hinaus finden sie sich an der Westwand der Nische (Pls. IX.2a-b, X.1a-b), wo sie im obersten Register beiderseits der Scheintür aufgebaut sind, sowie im untersten Register (Pl. X.2a-b), wo sie gerade auf einem Tisch von zwei Dienern herbeigetragen werden. Sie stehen in Grab N13.1 also immer in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Speisetischszene und der Opferliste und leiten u.a. den Beginn des Speiseopferrituals ein. In diesem Sinne werden sie zu Reinigungs- und Libationszwecken innerhalb eines Rituals genutzt, das als eines der wichtigsten innerhalb der Bestattungsriten gelten kann. Die *ḥs.t*-Flasche ist dabei das Kultgefäß par excellence,

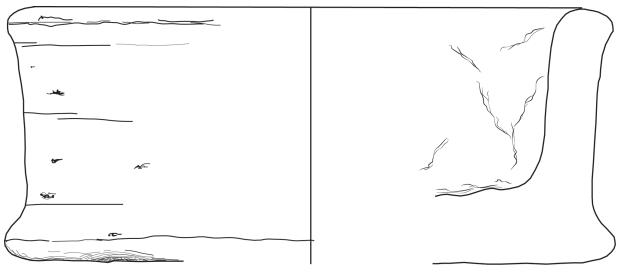


Abb. 6 - ZN14/74 (aus S14/19), Nilton C, Durchmesser Mündung: 17,0 cm, Boden: 17,4 cm, Höhe: 7,1 cm, Oberfläche innen und außen tongrundig belassen, innen mit Schlickerschicht überzogen. Boden außen schwarz verschmaucht. Herkunft: Grab H11.1 („Nördliches Soldaten-Grab"), Schacht 6, Seitenkammer. Zeichnung und Umzeichnung: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project

mit dem in aller Regel Wasser zu Reinigungszwecken ausgegossen wird (siehe diesen Vorgang dargestellt in Pl. VIII.3a).[64] Die *ḥs.t*-Flaschen sind in Assiut sehr oft in Abbildungen dargestellt,[65] tauchen im archäologischen Befund hingegen aber äußerst selten auf.[66] Die blau dargestellten Kupfer(?)-Gefäße sind (wie auch *ḥs.t*-Flaschen) häufig im billigeren Material Ton hergestellt worden (Pl. IX.2a-b), finden sich im Assiuter Material allerdings ebenfalls nicht.[67]

Darüber hinaus gibt es noch *b3s.t*-Gefäße, die mit ihrer gelben Farbe sehr wahrscheinlich Gold wiedergeben sollen (Pls. VIII.2a-b, IX.1a-b, X.1a-b). Solche Gefäße sind tatsächlich in Gold gearbeitet worden, aber ebenso auch aus Stein und Keramik und dienten u.a. als Behältnis für Öle und Salben,[68] was sie, genau wie die *ḥs.t*-Flaschen, ebenfalls mit Reinigungsritualen in Verbindung bringt.

Die steinernen Gefäße finden sich in den gleichen Kontexten wieder wie die metallenen: an der Nordwand der Nische neben der Opferliste (Pl. VIII.2a-b) sowie an der Westwand der Nische rechts neben der Scheintür (Pl. IX.2a-b, Gefäß ganz rechts außen; Pl. X.1a-b, zweites Gefäß von rechts). Ihre Funktion erschließt sich aus der Darstellung selbst nicht, da sie gebrauchsfertig aufgebaut sind, aber nicht im Einsatz gezeigt werden. Ihr Vorkommen innerhalb des gleichen Kontexts wie die Metallgefäße sowie ihre Verwendung als Salbgefäße weisen allerdings ebenfalls auf eine Funktion innerhalb der Reinigungsriten und der Opfertischszene hin.

An hölzernen Behältnissen sind die Scheffel zum Abmessen des Korns zu erwähnen. Sie finden sich an der Nordwand von Grab N13.1.

Keramische Gefäße sind in Grab N13.1 auf einem Boot (Pl. V.3a-b), an der Westwand unterhalb einer Schlachtungsszene vor dem Grabherrn (Pl. VI.2a-b), an der Westwand der Nische neben der Scheintür

eindeutige Rückschlüsse auf das Material zulässt. Vgl. auch Wolfgang Schenkel zur Austauschbarkeit bestimmter Farben untereinander, besonders von Blau und Schwarz bzw. Blau und Grün: Schenkel, *ZÄS* 88, 135.

[63] Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 76-7.

[64] Im British Museum, London gibt es eine *ḥs.t*-Flasche, deren Aufschrift „Wein" nennt: BM EA 59775, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1613211174&objectid=119850, <abgerufen am 04.12.2017>. Ob dieser Wein als Beigabe oder für den Einsatz im Kult gedacht war, ist nicht klar; möglicherweise erfüllte er auch beide Zwecke.

[65] Nicht nur in der Wanddekoration von N13.1, sondern auch auf Särgen; siehe: Chassinat, Palanque, *Fouilles Assiout*, Tf. 19.2, 20.1.

[66] Für eine hölzerne *ḥs.t*-Flasche, siehe: Zöller-Engelhardt, *SAK* 41, 193, Abb. 1. Im British Museum, London gibt es ein keramisches Gefäß in der Art einer *ḥs.t*-Flasche aus den von Hogarth in Assiut unternommenen Grabungen (BM EA 45275), das allerdings gedrungener ist und nicht die übliche schlanke Form besitzt. Gleiches gilt für zwei Flaschen im Museo Egizio di Torino aus den Grabungen Schiaparellis in Assiut (Turin Suppl. 13728 mit Trichterhals statt gerade ausschwingendem Rand und Turin Suppl. 15348). Alle sind aus Ton gefertigt. Interessanterweise imitieren die tönernen Flaschen zwar die Form, aber nicht unbedingt das Material, vgl.: Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 79, Abb. 128: „[…] Tonkrüge in Form der bekannten Libationsgefäße […], das eine rot, das andere schwarz." Vgl. auch die mit blauer Dekoration bemalte Flasche im British Museum, siehe Fußnote 64. Die Flaschen in London und Turin sind rot bzw. tongrundig belassen.

[67] Für tönerne Vergleichsbeispiele aus Saqqara, siehe: Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 88, Abb. 140 (oben rechts mit sehr kurzem Ausguss).

[68] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 83.

unterhalb einer Schlachtungsszene[69] (Pl. X.2a-b) sowie im untersten Register der Südwand innerhalb einer Szene der Brot- und Bierbereitung dargestellt (Pl. XI.1a-b, 2a-b). Sie fungieren innerhalb dieser Szenen als Behältnisse für Speisen und Getränke oder auch Räucherwerk (Pls. V.3a-b, VI.2a-b, X.2a-b) oder finden innerhalb von Alltagshandlungen Verwendung, die zur Herstellung von Speisen und Getränken nötig sind (Pl. XI.1a-b). Hier steht also nicht die Verwendung als Kultgerät im Vordergrund, sondern als ‚Unterlage' für Kultobjekte (Pflanzen?, Weihrauch) sowie als Behältnis für die Speisen, die dem Grabherrn eine sorgenfreie Existenz im Jenseits gewährleisten sollen. Keramische Gefäße bilden hier sozusagen den Hintergrund, vor dem die eigentlich wichtigen ‚Zutaten' abgebildet werden. In diesem Zusammenhang wundert auch das Fehlen bestimmter keramischer Formen, die der Herstellung von Speisen dienten, im Grabkontext nicht: Die Fertigung der für das Jenseits benötigten Dinge wurde durch die Abbildung auf den Wänden sowie die Holzmodelle gewährleistet; das gebrauchsfertige Produkt wurde im Grab deponiert.

In Grab N13.1 finden sich Gefäßdarstellungen also in

- kultischen Kontexten, besonders innerhalb der Speisetischszene und um die Opferliste in Reinigungsriten, dort überwiegend als Metall- oder Steingefäße,
- Szenen der Versorgung des Verstorbenen (dort überwiegend als keramische Behältnisse),
- Szenen der Nahrungsmittelherstellung (dort aus Keramik).

Opferständer werden dabei nie abgebildet,[70] stattdessen kommen Tische und – im Fall der *hs.t*-Flaschen – Flaschenständer zum Einsatz.

3.2 Grab I (P10.1)

Szenen, die Gefäße zeigen, befinden sich in Grab I (P10.1) heute noch im südlichen Bereich der Ostwand der Großen Querhalle, an der Südwand des Zweiten Korridors sowie an der Süd- und Nordwand der Innenwände des Schreins. Aufgrund von Zerstörungen ist jedoch nicht auszuschließen, dass ursprünglich mehr Szenen vorhanden waren, in denen Gefäße zur Darstellung kamen.

Die Szenen in der großen Querhalle und dem Korridor sind auf geglättetem Untergrund farbig aufgemalt, im Schrein hingegen sind sie in versenktem Relief angelegt. Dort haben sich keine Spuren möglicher farbiger Gestaltung erhalten.[71]

3.2.1 Grab I (P10.1) – Große Querhalle, Ostwand, südlicher Bereich

Am südlichen Ende der Ostwand sind Reste einer Dienerfigur zu erkennen, vor der sich ein Tisch befindet, über dem vier Gefäße abgebildet sind (zwischen den Gefäßen und dem Tisch besteht ein deutlicher Abstand, sie berühren die Tischplatte nicht).[72] Lediglich das äußerste linke Gefäß ist vollständig erhalten, von den übrigen dreien sind nur noch Spuren ihres obersten Bereichs sichtbar. Es besitzt einen breiten oberen Rand; die Wandung verjüngt sich etwas zum Boden hin, der wiederum leicht in die Breite geht. Der obere Teil ist rot bemalt und mittig mit einem weißen Kreuz versehen, das in einer blauen Schleife auf dem Gefäß endet. Die unteren beiden Drittel des Gefäßes sind bläulich bemalt, die Binnenzeichnung scheint Stein zu imitieren.[73] Der obere Bereich des nebenstehenden Gefäßes ist gleichartig gestaltet, mit dem Unterschied, dass es einen ovoiden Gefäßkörper zu besitzen scheint: Der Hals ist trichterförmig und endet in einer deutlich abgesetzten Schulter. Ob der rote Bereich von einem weißen Kreuz oder einem einzelnen vertikalen Strich geziert wird, ist nicht klar erkennbar. Knapp unterhalb der Schulter beginnt eine andere, ebenfalls nicht mehr erkennbare farbliche Gestaltung des Gefäßes.[74] Vom dritten Gefäß ist lediglich der Strich der Mündung erhalten. Auf dieser ist der blaue Knoten der Versiegelung erhalten, nicht jedoch die bei den vorigen beiden Gefäßen angegebenen (im Gegensatz zum weißen Kreuz ebenfalls blauen) Schnurenden.[75] Das letzte, rechts außen abgebildete Gefäß scheint dem ganz links zu entsprechen.[76] Solche Behältnisse

[69] Auf der Südwand der Nische befinden sich rechts oben Farbreste, die auf einen ähnlichen Opferaufbau schließen lassen.

[70] Vermutlich befindet sich in der Opfertischszene ein Opferständer, der die Tischplatte trägt. Davon sind aber keine Spuren mehr erhalten und somit ist auch keine Aussage bezüglich des Materials (Stein oder Keramik) möglich.

[71] El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, 44.

[72] Eine Darstellung der Szene ist publiziert in: El-Khadragy, Kahl, *ASAE* 83, 188, Abb. 18.

[73] Ähnliche Gefäße siehe: Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 83, Abb. 106 n-q. Die gleiche Gefäßform findet sich in N13.1, ist dort allerdings nur gelb bemalt (Pl. IX.1a-b) oder besitzt einen roten Rand (Pl. VIII.2a-b, unteres Gefäß).

[74] Vgl.: Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 90, Abb. 117b oder 91, Abb. 118 l, p. Es ähnelt einem in N13.1 dargestellten ovoiden Gefäß, dass ebenfalls zweifarbig gestaltet ist (s.o., Pl. IX.1a, zweites von rechts).

[75] Freundliche Mitteilung von Ulrike Dubiel M.A., die z.Zt. mit dem Kollationieren dieser Szene beschäftigt ist.

[76] Daneben befindet sich wahrscheinlich noch ein fünftes Gefäß, das dem zweiten Gefäß von links ähnelt; dies muss jedoch noch überprüft werden. Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich

erscheinen häufig in Zusammenhang mit Ölen und Salben,[77] hier nennt eine Beischrift ꜥ*n.tjw* als Inhalt. Der Zusammenhang, in den diese Szene eingebettet ist, ist aufgrund der starken Zerstörungen nicht eindeutig. In den Registern darüber befindet sich eine Darstellung des sitzenden Grabherrn sowie verschiedener Personen, die mit dem Herbeibringen diverser Gaben beschäftigt sind.

3.2.2 Grab I (P10.1) – Zweiter Korridor, Südwand

Thema des Dekorationsprogramms der Südwand des Zweiten Korridors ist die Versorgung des Toten. Im obersten Register sind Menschen in stehender und auch kniender Haltung zu sehen, deren Tätigkeit nicht mehr zu erkennen ist. Neben Gabenbringerinnen im zweiten Register, die lebende Rinder und Geflügel herbeitragen resp. führen, finden sich darunter im dritten Register Männer in Schlachtungsszenen sowie, am westlichen Ende des Registers, mit lebendem Geflügel. Im untersten, vierten Register finden sich männliche Bedienstete, die Brot, Fleischstücke, Obst und Gemüse in Körben sowie Huftiere herbeibringen. Die Hauptszene der Wand, auf die die Tätigkeiten innerhalb der Register ausgerichtet sind, ist eine Darstellung Djefai-Hapis I. vor einem großen Opferaufbau. Dieser Bereich ist nicht sehr gut erhalten. Im östlichen Teil der Wand, direkt im Anschluss an die Register mit den Gabenbringern, sind die Darstellungen noch besser erhalten und zeigen einen größer gezeichneten Diener mit einer Gans in den Händen vor einem Opferaufbau (Pl. XII.1a-b). Dieser besteht aus zwei Gefäßen auf Ständern, rechts davon befindet sich ungerupftes Geflügel, darum türmen sich Fleischstücke, ein Rinderschädel, weiteres – gerupftes – Geflügel, Obst, Lotosblüten (offen und geschlossen) und weitere, nicht mehr erkennbare oder verlorene Gaben. Über dem Opferaufbau sind noch Reste einer Opferliste erkennbar. Auf dem Boden dieses Registers sind mehrere Körbe dargestellt. Rechts (im westlichen Bereich der Wand) sind noch die Hand Djefai-Hapis I., die in Richtung des Opfertischs ausgestreckt ist, sowie seine Fußspitze zu erkennen. Seine Figur ist die größte Personendarstellung der Südwand des Zweiten Korridors und hat sich wohl über die oberen drei Register erstreckt. Das unterste, vierte Register läuft unterhalb dieser Darstellung weiter, während die übrigen von ihr abgelöst werden.

Die Behältnisse, die innerhalb dieser Szene dargestellt sind, unterscheiden sich deutlich vom in Grab N13.1 dargestellten Repertoire. Dies zeigt sich schon in der gehäuften Darstellung unterschiedlichster Ständer, die in Grab N13.1 nicht zum Einsatz kommen. Direkt vor der etwas größer dargestellten Person vor dem Opferaufbau findet sich ein in brauner Farbe wiedergegebener Ständer; die beiden weiteren dahinter sind blau bemalt.

Die blauen, kleineren Ständer finden eine Parallele im Gründungsdepot von Mentuhotep II., in dem solche Ständer aus blauer Fayence niedergelegt waren.[78] Sie sind fast zylindrisch mit nur wenig schmalerem oberem Bereich, während die bei Djefai-Hapi I. gezeigten Ständer eher A-förmig sind und einen deutlich breiteren unteren Bereich besitzen. Sie weisen aber ebenfalls das ausgeschnittene Dreieck in der Wandung auf sowie einen leichten Wulstrand. Die blaue Farbe könnte sich auch auf Metall beziehen,[79] allerdings besitzen Ständer aus Metall in der Regel keine dreieckigen Aussparungen.

Der rot gemalte Ständer findet innerhalb Assiuts Entsprechungen im archäologischen Fundgut: In Grab N13.11 wurde ein solcher Ständer vorgefunden (Pl. XII.2). Diese kleine Grabanlage befindet sich in der Nachbarschaft von Grab N13.1 und datiert relativchronologisch gleichzeitig mit oder kurz nach Grab N13.1. Ein weiteres Exemplar befindet sich im British Museum und stammt aus Hogarths Grab 6.[80] Dieses ist mit 33 cm und entsprechend größerem oberen und unterem Durchmesser (13,4 cm resp. 21,6 cm) fast doppelt so groß wie der Ständer aus Grab N13.11, aber typologisch sehr ähnlich.

Die auf den Ständern dargestellten Gefäße sind ungewöhnlich. Der tönerne rote Ständer trägt ein Gefäß mit Wellenrand, das scheinbar als Blumenvase fungiert, denn offene sowie geschlossene Lotosblüten ragen daraus hervor. Das Gefäß besitzt einen unregelmäßig geformten Rand, der links stark auswölbt, während er rechts nur leicht einzieht. Die Innenzeichnung besteht aus geraden und schrägen blauen Linien vor gelblichem Hintergrund, die Dreiecke bilden und an den Schnittpunkten der Linien mit blauen Punkten versehen sind. Die Bemalung erinnert an Flechtwerk, möglicherweise soll hier aber auch ein gemusterter

ebenfalls Ulrike Dubiel M.A.

[77] Jedoch weist bereits Balcz darauf hin, dass sie auch anderweitig, bspw. zur Aufnahme von Wein, Verwendung fanden. Siehe: Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 78.

[78] Alle dort geborgenen Fayenceobjekte werden beschrieben als von „intensiv türkisblauer Farbe“ und „wegen des mürben und sehr dünn geformten Materials so zerbrechlich, daß es sich […] um speziell für das Jenseits gedachte Modelle handeln muß, die keiner Beanspruchung im täglichen Leben ausgesetzt waren.“ (Arnold, *Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, 55). Zu den Abb. siehe ebd. Tf. 84a, 85e-f.

[79] Siehe hierfür zahlreiche Beispiele in: Radwan, *Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße*. Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich MMag. Martin Odler.

[80] British Museum, London, BM EA 45221.

Stein wiedergegeben werden.[81] Das Behältnis fungiert als Blumenvase, wozu Wellenrandschalen häufig genutzt wurden.[82] Archäologische Belege gibt es aus den laufenden Reinigungsarbeiten nicht aus Stein, aber aus Keramik, allerdings sind diese Schalen flach und niedrig und tongrundig belassen.[83] Die Darstellung selbst findet sich auch auf Särgen und ist nicht auf Grabwände beschränkt.[84]

Das ovoide Gefäß mit hohem Hals und halbkugeligem Gefäßverschluss, das direkt daneben auf einem blauen Ständer steht, ist vermutlich als Steingefäß anzusprechen. Seine Innenzeichnung ist in den gleichen Farben gehalten wie die des Blumengefäßes und erinnert an unregelmäßig verteilte Fischschuppen.[85] Um die Schultern herum ist eine hell türkisfarbene Girlande gelegt, aus der rechts und links zwei Lotosblätter an langen Stielen nach oben hervorragen.[86] Während diese Gefäße ohne den Blumenschmuck als Wein- und vermutlich auch Bier- und Wassergefäß dienten,[87] sieht Balcz in den Gefäßen mit Blumenschmuck Blumenvasen oder eine Kombination aus Vase und Getränkebehältnis und geht davon aus, dass die Blumen in tönerne Röhren, welche am Gefäß angebracht waren, eingesteckt waren.[88] In der Darstellung von Grab I (P10.1) erweckt die Konstruktion allerdings eher den Eindruck von girlandenartigem Schmuck, der um die Schultern des Gefäßes gelegt wurde und aus dem die Stiele der Lotosblätter hervorragen. Röhren zur Aufnahme der Blumen scheinen nicht angebracht zu sein. Das Gefäß auf dem dritten blauen Ständer ist rot gemalt und war wohl ebenfalls ovoid. Da die obere Hälfte fehlt, entzieht es sich einer weiteren Analyse.

Darüber hinaus finden sich an Behältnissen diverse hohe (Abb. 7) und niedrige Körbe (Abb. 8), in denen Opfergaben herbeigebracht werden. Zum Transport der Gaben kommen darüber hinaus diverse Unterlagen, vermutlich aus Flechtwerk, zum Einsatz.

3.2.3 Grab I (P10.1) – Schrein, Südwand

Die Südwand des Schreins zeigt einen sehr ähnlichen Aufbau wie die Südwand des Zweiten Korridors. Unter einer (hier von einem Cheker-Fries bekrönten) Opferliste befinden sich drei Register (Abb. 9).[89] Im obersten sind kultische Handlungen zu sehen, die Parallelen in Grab N13.1 finden (vgl. Pl. VIII.3a). Im mittleren und unteren Register sind Gabenträger gezeigt, die Rinder, Gazellen/Antilopen, lebendes und gerupftes Geflügel, Brot, Fleischstücke, Obst und Gemüse sowie Lotosblüten herbeibringen. Das unterste Register erstreckt sich dabei über die gesamte Länge der Südwand des Schreins, während das erste und zweite Register, ähnlich wie an der Südwand des Korridors, vor einem Opferaufbau enden. Am westlichen Ende der Szene (rechts) sitzt der Grabherr mit Blickrichtung nach Osten auf den Gabentisch und die Opferträger.

In dieser Szene kommen mehrere bereits bekannte Gefäße zum Einsatz. In der Reinigungsszene unterhalb der Opferliste wird Wasser aus einer *ḥs.t*-Flasche ausgegossen (oberstes Register ganz rechts), diesmal allerdings auf einen niedrigen Opfertisch statt in ein Behältnis. Im Gegensatz zu Grab N13.1 hat die hier verwendete *ḥs.t*-Flasche keinen Ausguss.

Der Opferaufbau vor dem Verstorbenen zeigt Behältnisse (Abb. 10), die schon vom Korridor (Pl. XII.1a-b) und aus Grab N13.1 bekannt sind (Pl. IX.2a-b links – Abb. 10 unter dem Opfertisch rechts; Pl. X.1a-b links – Abb. 10 unter dem Opfertisch rechts), während sich für andere keine Parallelen zwischen Grab I (P10.1) und Grab N13.1 finden lassen (Pl. IX.2a-b rechts, Pl. X.1a-b rechts).

Gefäße aus Keramik sind in den Szenen nicht sehr zahlreich abgebildet und die dargestellten Typen sind im archäologischen Fundgut nicht belegt. Einige der dargestellten Gefäßformen finden sich wiederum unter den Holzmodellen, speziell bei den Opferträgern, wie das Gefäß mit spitzem Gefäßverschluss auf

[81] Siehe hierzu die Beispiele in: Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 80, Abb. 4. Balcz (*MDAIK* 3, 81) geht von der Annahme aus, bei solch ornamentalen Mustern könne es sich um „willkürlich aus Ziergründen auf die Gefäßdarstellung" übertragene Dekoration handeln oder um „Prunkgeräte mit färbig eingelegten Mustern". Auch Flechtwerk wäre denkbar. Mag. Dr. Bettina Bader schlägt eine Verwendung von Körben als Blumenbehälter vor, wenn der Korb mit feuchten Blättern o.ä. zur Versorgung mit Flüssigkeit gefüllt gewesen wäre (Vorschlag während der Konferenz *Art-facts and Artefacts*, Kunsthistoriches Museum Wien, am 30.06.2017). Für eine Deutung als Korb würden im vorliegenden Fall auch der unregelmäßige Rand und der ausgewölbte Mündungsbereich sprechen, der bei Steingefäßen nur in Form regelmäßig ausgearbeiteter Wellen vorkommt.

[82] Balcz, *MDAIK* 4, 26-7, Abb. 39d. Die dort gezeigten Schalen besitzen, im Gegensatz zu der Schale in Grab I, keine Innenzeichnung.

[83] Rzeuska, *SAK* 41, 228, Abb. 25 (AS 350), Tf. 21a; Rzeuska, *SAK* 44, 145, Abb. 33.2, Tf. 12.2.

[84] Z.B. in Saqqara: Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Tf. 6 (obere Abbildung, mittleres Bildfeld, unten rechts). Dort ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit Opferaufbauten auf einem niedrigen Ständer, hier mit fischschuppenartiger Innenzeichnung.

[85] Zur Innenzeichnung vgl.: Balcz, *MDAIK* 3, 79-82.

[86] Zur Gefäßform siehe: Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 64-6, Abb. 95g.

[87] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 66.

[88] Balcz, *MDAIK* 5, 69-70, Abb. 98g.

[89] Vgl. hierzu auch die detaillierte Beschreibung von El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, 50-1.

einem niedrigen Gefäßständer neben dem Gestell mit den *ḥs.t*-Flaschen unter dem Opfertisch.[90] Da ihr Mündungsbereich von einem Gefäßverschluss bedeckt wird, der bis auf die Schultern hinabreicht, kann über ihre genaue Form nichts gesagt werden.

Neben diesem Gefäß befindet sich ein Tisch mit ovoiden Flaschen, die mit einer ähnlichen Girlande um die Schultern herum geschmückt sind wie das bereits im Korridor besprochene Gefäß aus Stein. Da der obere Abschluss unklar ist (handelt es sich um einen langen Flaschenhals oder um einen Deckel mit Griff?), können die Gefäße nicht mit den archäologischen Funden abgeglichen werden. Zwischen diesen beiden Flaschen steht eine konische Schale, die mit einem (geflochtenen?) Deckel bedeckt ist. Es gibt keine Hinweise auf den Inhalt dieser Schale, aber ein ähnliches Arrangement findet sich auch in Grab N13.1 (vgl. Pl. X.2a-b). Dort ist eine *ḥs.t*-Flasche zwischen zwei möglicherweise rundbodigen (statt konischen) Schalen zu sehen, die ebenfalls einen Deckel aus Flechtwerk besitzen könnten (s.o.). Bei der Abdeckung des rechten Gefäßes ist eine Schlaufe zu erkennen, die in Abb. 10 an der Abdeckung des konischen Gefäßes ebenfalls zu beobachten ist.

Besonders interessant sind in dieser Szene die Darstellungen von Ständern (Abb. 11). Der mittelgroße Ständer oberhalb des Opfertischs ist schon aus der Darstellung an der Südwand des Korridors bekannt, wo er auch die gleiche Art Gefäß trägt (s.o.). Die großen, hohen Ständer (unten rechts als Unterstand für den Opfertisch, links als Ständer für Schalen) sind in verschiedenen Varianten zahlreich im archäologischen Fundgut der laufenden Arbeiten des *Asyut Project* belegt (Abb. 12). Typisch ist ein geriefter Rand im Mündungsbereich, die Standfläche kann gerieft oder glatt sein. Meist sind die Ständer außen mit roter Farbe überzogen, können aber auch tongrundig belassen sein. Sie bilden innerhalb der Keramik eine große Fundgruppe, ihre durchschnittliche Höhe liegt um 30 cm. In der Darstellung in Grab I tragen sie Schalen (Abb. 11 links), über denen Lotospflanzen liegen. Schalen wurden, wie schon bei der Besprechung der Darstellung in Grab N13.1 gezeigt, in verschiedensten Größen im archäologischen Material vorgefunden. Ein solches Schalen-Arrangement fehlt im archäologischen Fundgut aber bisher. Allerdings gibt es Berichte der früheren Ausgräber über ungestörte Anlagen, in denen Schalen auf Ständern vorgefunden wurden, in denen noch pflanzliche Reste enthalten waren.[91]

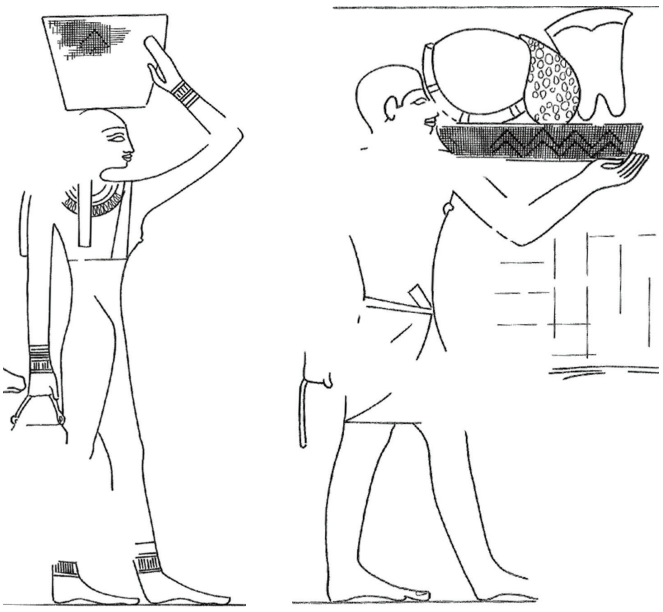


Abb. 7 (links) - Grab I, Opferträgerin mit hohem Korb. Zweiter Korridor, Südwand, Detail. Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

Abb. 8 (rechts) - Grab I, Opferträger mit niedrigem Korb. Zweiter Korridor, Südwand, Detail. Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

Zuletzt sind noch die kleinen Ringständer zu erwähnen (Abb. 11 unten Mitte). Auch solche Ständer sind im keramischen Material Assiuts belegt (Abb. 13), allerdings deutlich seltener als die hohen Ständer.[92]

3.2.4 Grab I (P10.1) – Schrein, Nordwand

Die Nordwand zeigt die gleiche Dekoration wie die Südwand und ist fast ein gespiegeltes Pendant; lediglich in der Zusammensetzung der einzelnen Opfergaben lassen sich kleine Unterschiede feststellen.[93] Die Gefäße, die dort abgebildet sind, entsprechen im Anbringungsort sowie der Ausführung denen auf der Südwand und werden daher hier nicht noch einmal gesondert erläutert.

[90] Vgl. ein Beispiel aus Assiut in: *Life and Death under the Pharaohs*, 85, oder eines aus dem Kunsthandel in: Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 131.

[91] So berichten Chassinat und Palanque (*Fouilles Assiout*, 34) über „branchages“, die im ungestörten Grab des Nacht über die Schalen gelegt vorgefunden wurden. Siehe auch: Ryan, *Archaeological Excavations*, 24 („red saucer with vegetable matter“, ohne die Erwähnung von Ständern und möglicherweise ins Neue Reich datierend). In beiden Fällen ohne genauere Angaben zu den Pflanzen.

[92] Im von mir bearbeiteten Assiuter Material bisher nur zweimal: ZN11/38 (S05/st642A) aus der Verfüllung von Schacht 2 sowie S07/st791 aus Verfüllung von Schacht 3 in N13.1 (siehe Fig. 28).

[93] Siehe das Faksimile in: El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, Abb. 3 sowie die Beschreibung ebd. 44-8.

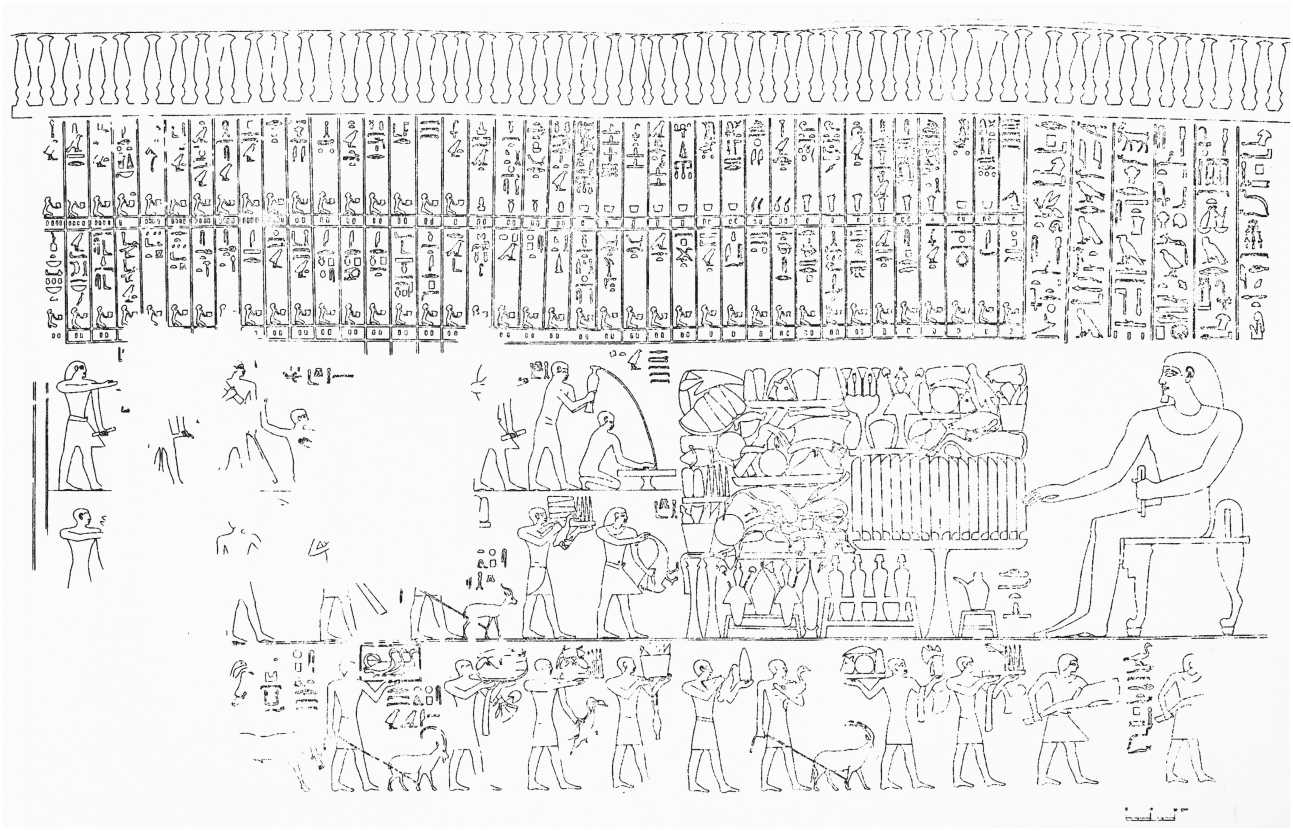


Abb. 9 - Grab I, Schrein, Südwand. Publiziert in: El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, Abb. 5. Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

3.2.5 Grab I (P10.1) – Zusammenfassung

Während in Grab N13.1 Gefäße in verschiedenen Kontexten vorkommen, werden Behälter in Grab I (P10.1) nur im Zusammenhang mit Opferszenen gezeigt. Sie tauchen an der Südwand des Zweiten Korridors sowie der Südwand des Schreins auf, die Darstellungen von Opfertischen, Schlachtungsszenen, Gabenbringern sowie Opferlisten tragen und von einer Darstellung des Grabherrn vor dem Opfertisch, um den herum sich noch weitere Opferaufbauten befinden, beschlossen werden. Die Szene an der Ostwand der großen Querhalle scheint ebenfalls in den Kontext von Opfer- (oder Kult-)Szenen eingebettet zu sein, wie die Dienerfiguren in den darüberliegenden Registern vermuten lassen. Da nicht alle Szenen in Grab I (P10.1) erhalten sind, ist nicht auszuschließen, dass Gefäße und andere Behälter möglicherweise auch in weiteren Szenen vorkamen. Auffällig ist jedoch das gehäufte Auftreten von Ständern. Sie sind ausschließlich im Opferaufbau vor dem Grabherrn zu finden und dienen dort als Untersatz für den Opfertisch selbst, aber auch für diverse Gefäße. In diesem Zusammenhang ist eine von Ernst Czerny gemachte Beobachtung von Interesse. Während die niedrigen Ringständer lediglich stützende Funktion haben und auch im Siedlungskontext von Ezbet Ruschdi vorkommen, dienten hohe Ständer der „Erhöhung“ und wurden dort überwiegend in kultischen Kontexten gefunden.[94] Ähnliches konstatiert auch Maria Lopatta, die hohe Ständer zum Kultgerät zählt, da sie „Dinge auf Aktionshöhe“[95] heben. Dies scheint sich auch in den Szenen von Grab I (P10.1) zu zeigen, denn auf mittelhohen und hohen Ständern befinden sich hier nicht einfach Gefäße mit rundem Boden, denen die Ständer lediglich Halt geben sollen. Stattdessen sind hier Gefäße aus kostbarem Material abgebildet, wie in Pl. XII.1a-b, die in erster Linie nichts mit der Versorgung des Toten zu tun haben (zumindest nicht mit der Versorgung mit Nahrungsmitteln). Sie tragen Behältnisse, die als Blumenvase fungieren (Pl. XII.1a-b, Abb. 11 oben), stützen den Opfertisch selbst und heben ihn so auf „Aktionshöhe“ des Grabherrn oder tragen Gefäße, auf denen Lotosblumen abgelegt sind und die vermutlich eine Rolle im Kultgeschehen spielten. Mehrfach vorhandene Gefäße wie die *ḥs.t*-Flaschen sind in den üblichen Ständern (niedrige Tische mit Löchern in der Tischplatte, Abb. 10 Mitte) oder auf Tischchen (Abb. 10 links sowie an der Ostwand der großen Querhalle) wiedergegeben, wie dies auch bei Grab N13.1 der Fall ist.

[94] Czerny, *Die Siedlung und der Tempelbezirk des Mittleren Reichs von Ezbet Ruschdi*, 351.
[95] Lopatta, in Czerny *et al*. (Hgg.), *Timelines*, vol. I, 198-9.

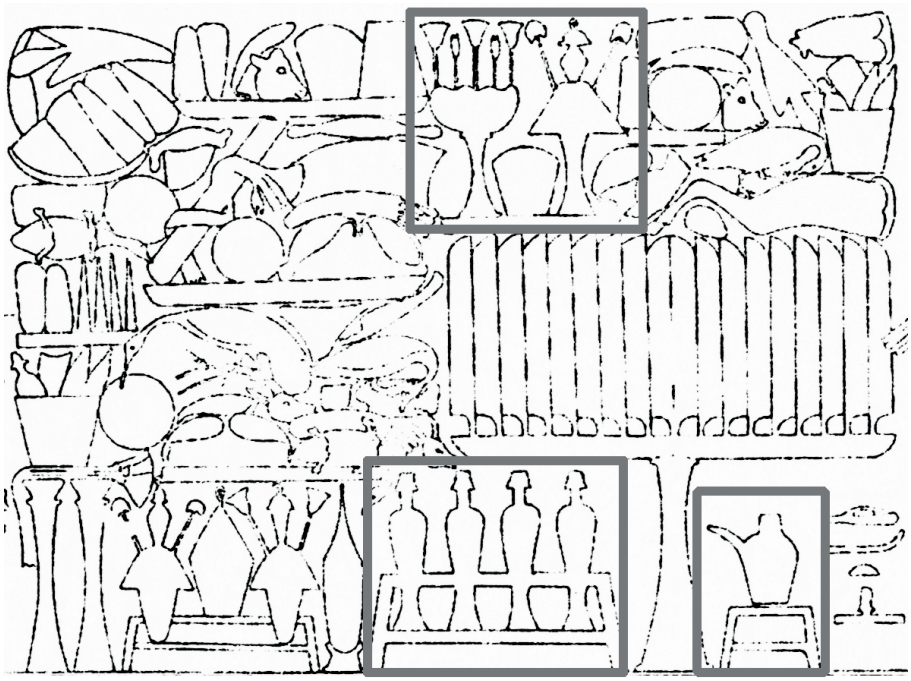


Abb. 10 - Grab I, Schrein, Südwand, Detail des Opferaufbaus: Gefäße. Hervorhebungen von Andrea Kilian. Publiziert in: El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, Abb. 5. Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

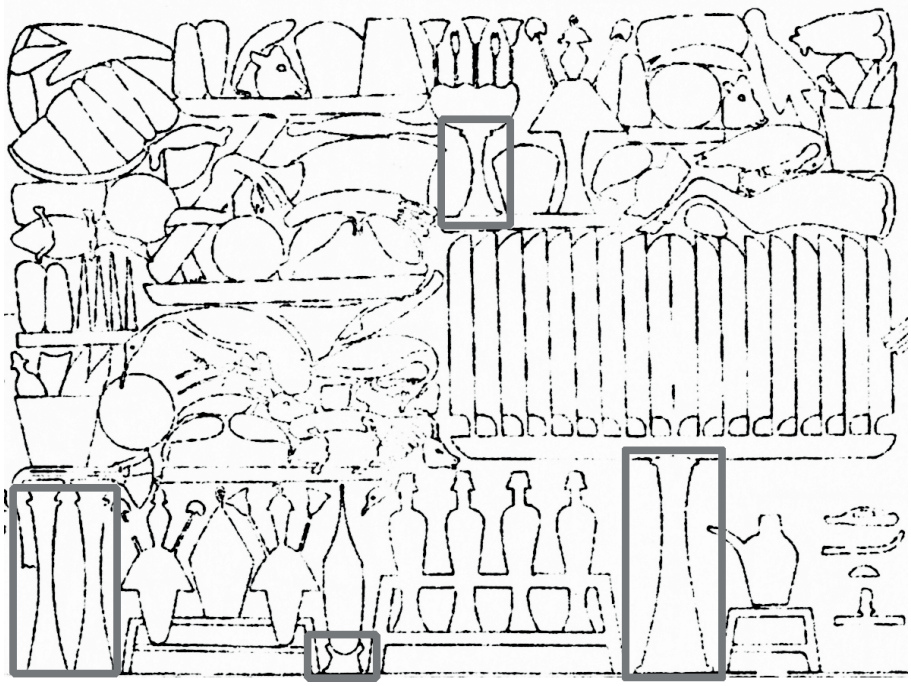


Abb. 11 - Grab I, Schrein, Südwand, Detail des Opferaufbaus: Ständer. Hervorhebungen von Andrea Kilian. Publiziert in: El-Khadragy, *GM* 212, Abb. 5. Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

4. Auswertung des Befunds

In der Dekoration von Grab N13.1 kommen Behältnisse in zwei übergeordneten Kontexten vor: einerseits in der Versorgung des Toten mit Proviant für das Leben im Jenseits (hier sowohl in Szenen der Lebensmittelproduktion, vgl. Pl. XI.1a-b, 2a-b, als auch in Opferaufbauten, vgl. Pl. VI.2a-b), andererseits auch in kultischen Handlungen rund um die Opferliste (Pls. VIII.3a, IX.1a) oder in Darstellungen im Zusammenhang mit der Opferliste (Pls. VIII.2a-b, IX.2a-b, X.1a-b, 2a-b). Ständer werden in Grab N13.1 nicht gezeigt; die Gefäße befinden sich auf Tischen

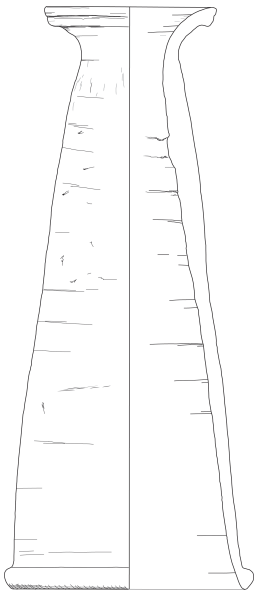


Fig. 12 - ZN14/33 aus H11.1, Schacht 7, Seitenkammer. Durchmesser oben: 9,5 cm, unten: 13,3 cm, Höhe: 33,0 cm, Oberfläche: außen rote Farbe, innen tongrundig. Zeichnung: Aneta Cedro, Umzeichnung: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project

oder in tischartigen Gestellen mit Löchern in der Tischplatte.

In Grab I (P10.1) stellt sich die Situation anders dar, insofern als hier Gefäße und Ständer in den erhaltenen Szenen ausschließlich um die Opferliste herum oder innerhalb des Opferaufbaus vor dem Grabherrn vorkommen. Hohe und mittelhohe Ständer dienen als Untersatz für Gefäße, deren Material, Funktion oder Inhalt eine hervorgehobene Stellung innehatten. Szenen des täglichen Lebens, in denen keramische Gefäße zum Einsatz kommen, wie dies in Grab N13.1 bei der Herstellung von Brot und Bier der Fall ist, gibt es in Grab I (P10.1) nicht (mehr?).

In beiden Grabanlagen spielt der Versorgungsgedanke eine wichtige Rolle. Dies wird u.a. besonders durch die Gabenbringer hervorgehoben, die – nicht nur – in Körben die Mittel zur körperlichen Versorgung des Toten und damit der Fortexistenz im Jenseits herbeitragen und auch vielfach als hölzerne Modelle belegt sind. Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit der Darstellungen besteht darin, dass Gefäße aus kostbarem Material wie Stein oder Metall überwiegend in kultischen Kontexten dargestellt sind. Als solche sind sie auch innerhalb von Bestattungen gefunden worden.[96] Kultische Handlungen, die mit Reinheit und

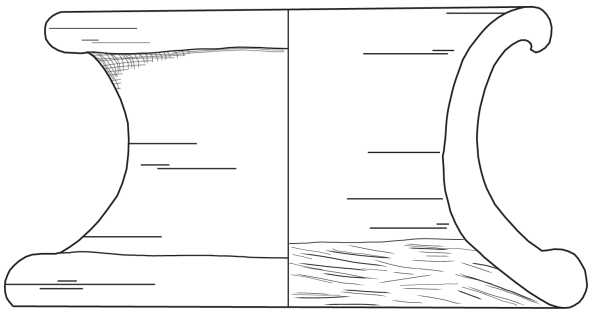


Abb. 13 - S07/st791 aus N13.1, Schacht 3. Durchmesser oben: 9,8 cm, unten: 11,4 cm, Höhe: 6,2 cm. Zeichnung und Umzeichnung: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project. Vgl. auch die Abbildung des gleichen Ständers in: Kahl, Engel, Sanhueza-Pino, in: Schiestl, Seiler (Hgg.), *Handbook*, vol. II, Abb. 8.17

Libation zu tun haben, scheinen demnach Gefäße aus kostbarerem Material als Ton zu bevorzugen, denn sie sind in den hier zur Diskussion stehenden Szenen überwiegend in Gelb- und Blautönen wiedergegeben oder mit Musterungen versehen, die an bestimmte Steinsorten erinnern. Keramische Tongefäße sind hingegen in Rot-Braun-Tönungen (Niltongefäße) oder einem hellen Gelb (Mergelgefäße) bemalt.

Der Abgleich zwischen Darstellungen und tatsächlich belegten Beigaben muss lückenhaft bleiben, da die meisten Anlagen in Assiut gestört sind und der ursprüngliche Formenbestand nirgends vollständig erfasst werden kann. Zudem fehlt die Siedlungskeramik, die unter der modernen Stadt Assiut begraben liegt. Zu keramischen Gefäßen, die sich in der Darstellung und im archäologischen Material finden lassen, gehören (Pl. XIII):

- ovoide Flaschen mit Trichterhals,
- Schalen und Näpfe in verschiedenen Größen und Funktionen (zum Räuchern und als Trinkschale sowie als Behältnis mit unbekanntem Inhalt und (Flecht?-)Deckel),
- Brotformen.

Belegt sind zudem alle Ständerformen, die in Grab I (P10.1) gezeigt werden; lediglich für die blau gefärbten Ständer gibt es keine Beispiele aus Assiut selbst. Hierbei ist auch nicht klar, ob die blaue Farbe Ständer aus Fayence meint, wie sie im Gründungsdepot von Mentuhotep II. belegt sind, oder ob mit der blauen Farbe Metall gemeint ist. Auch Steingefäße sind aus Assiut belegt.[97]

[96] Aus Metall: Chassinat, Palanque, *Fouilles Assiout*, Tf. 22.2-4, 23.1 (aus dem Grab des Nacht). Solche Metallgefäße wurden ebenfalls im Grab von Mesehti (ebd., 112) gefunden. Sie sind eine Mischung aus ovoiden Flaschen (unterer Gefäßkörper) und *ḥs.t*-Flaschen, mit denen sie den ausschwingenden Hals mit dem geraden Randbereich gemein haben. Siehe: Radwan, *Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße*, 81-3, Tf. 44 (194A-B,195A). Aus Stein siehe z.B.: Fußnote 97; Zitman, *Necropolis of Asyut*, vol. II, 97, Abb. 25.9, 100, Abb. 26.9-11.

[97] Siehe z.B.: D'Amicone, Pozzi Battaglia, *Egitto Mai Visto*,

Nicht vorhanden sind Behältnisse, die zur Herstellung von Endprodukten wie Brot und Bier benötigt werden. Diese finden sich ausschließlich in bildlichen Darstellungen oder in Form hölzerner Modelle, die einzelne Produktionsschritte mit den dafür benötigten Utensilien zeigen. Eine Ausnahme hiervon bilden Brotformen. Diese werden im letzten Arbeitsschritt der Brotbereitung zum Backen der Brote benötigt, finden sich aber auch gelegentlich in den Grabanlagen, was vermutlich damit zusammenhängt, dass sie mit dem gebackenen Brot befüllt mitgegeben wurden.

Wie auch die Grabanlage Djefai-Hapis I. sich an Totentempelanlagen des Alten Reichs orientiert,[98] finden sich ebenso in den Gefäßdarstellungen Bezüge zu dieser Epoche. Dies ist wenig überraschend: Die in kultischen Szenen dargestellten Gefäßformen wie z.B. die *ḥs.t*-Flaschen werden oft unverändert weitertradiert. Dies lässt sich in den Darstellungen von Grab I (P10.1) ebenso feststellen wie bei den besonders in der Westwand der Nische von Grab N13.1 gezeigten Gefäßen, denn nur hier, in Gefäßen für Kult und Ritual, finden sich Parallelen zwischen den Darstellungen in Grab I (P10.1) und Grab N13.1. Die keramischen Gefäße finden hingegen keine Parallelen, was auch am Fehlen entsprechender Darstellungen in Grab I (P10.1) liegt und mit dem Erhaltungsgrad der Dekoration zusammenhängen könnte.

Der Aspekt der Versorgtheit wird in den keramischen Hinterlassenschaften besonders greifbar: In den Grabkammern findet sich überwiegend Keramik zur Aufbewahrung und Präsentation von Speisen, seltener auch Kultkeramik. Nicht vorhanden sind hingegen die Behältnisse, die zur Herstellung von Produkten notwendig waren. Die Gefäße stellten die Versorgung des Toten im Jenseits sicher, unabhängig davon, ob sie tatsächlich gefüllt waren oder ob sie leer und/oder als Miniaturform mitgegeben wurden. Die Produktion und die dafür benötigte Keramik sind im Fall von Grab N13.1 an den Grabwänden dargestellt und finden in Assiut darüber hinaus ihren Niederschlag auch in Holzmodellen. Abbild und Beigabe ergänzen sich in diesem Fall, da die Dekoration und/oder die Modelle die Herstellung der Produkte in Szene setzen, mit denen der Verstorbene bestattet wird. Gefäße, die für Handlungen (auch kultische Handlungen) benötigt werden, finden sich im Repertoire der materiellen Hinterlassenschaften der Nekropole selten. Hier liegt der Fokus auf Vorratsgefäßen und Behältnissen zur Präsentation von Lebensmitteln – gebrauchsfertig für die Verwendung bereitgestellt.

Der soziale Status von Iti-ibi(-iqer) und von Djefai-Hapi I. war, den Titeln nach zu urteilen, sehr ähnlich. Beide waren zu ihrer Zeit Personen mit leitender Stellung innerhalb ihres Gaus. Dennoch macht schon ein Vergleich der Größe der Anlagen und der Gestaltung ihrer Substrukturen deutlich, dass in die Errichtung der Grabstätte von Djefai-Hapi I. mehr Mittel geflossen sein müssen als in die von Iti-ibi(-iqer). Dies mag durch zeitliche Gründe oder soziokulturelle Umstände bedingt sein.[99] In den Beigaben lässt sich dahingehend keine Feststellung mehr treffen, da der Befund in beiden Anlagen zu gestört war, um einen direkten Vergleich ihres Inventars vornehmen zu können. Deutlich wird allerdings bereits jetzt, dass Djefai-Hapi I. ein neues keramisches Formenspektrum ins Spiel zu bringen scheint, bei dem die mittelgroßen Gefäße größeren, bauchigeren Formen mit mehr Volumen weichen.[100] Anhand der Darstellungen allein kann kein Unterschied im Repertoire der Gefäße erfasst werden, da sich die Themen nicht überschneiden bzw. sich die in kultischen Szenen gezeigten Gefäßformen chronologisch nicht wesentlich weiterentwickeln.

Die oben gemachten Aussagen basieren auf zwei Grabanlagen der Nekropole von Assiut sowie der in ihr im Verlauf von elf Kampagnen geborgenen Funde. Die Probleme bei der Auswertung des Materials – Störung der Befunde, Fehlen der Siedlungskeramik, Erhaltungsgrad der Dekoration – erlauben keine weitergehenden Aussagen. Dennoch werden trotz dieser Probleme Unterschiede fassbar, die mit aller Vorsicht tendenzielle Aussagen erlauben und weiteren Bearbeitern in Zukunft hilfreich sein können.

Danksagung
Ich danke den Organisatoren des Study Days *Art-facts and Artefacts: Visualising the Material World in Middle Kingdom Egypt* für die Einladung zur Teilnahme und den Teilnehmern für die Diskussion und wertvollen Hinweise sehr herzlich. Darüber hinaus gilt mein Dank den Projektleitern des *Asyut Project*, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl sowie Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ursula Verhoeven-van Elsbergen, für die Überlassung des zur Publikation dieses Artikels benötigten Materials sowie die Diskussionen des Themas und Literaturtipps. Großer Dank gebührt zudem Fritz Barthel und Dr. Sameh

65-6 (Kat. 1.2), 67-8 (Kat. 1.4).

[98] Siehe hierzu die Literaturangaben in Fußnote 19.

[99] N13.1 enthält beispielsweise eine Inschrift, in der Mesehti, Sohn von Iti-ibi(-iqer), schreibt, er habe die Anlage seines Vaters errichtet, siehe: El-Khadragy, in Kahl *et al.* (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons*, 36.

[100] Die Reinigung der unterirdischen Anlage von Grab I ist noch im Gang. Für einige vorläufige Ergebnisse siehe: Kilian, *SAK* 46, 141-5.

Shafik, die die Fotos bzw. Faksimiles der Dekoration von Grab N13.1 und Grab I (P10.1) angefertigt haben. Zudem gilt mein Dank Dr. Monika Zöller-Engelhardt für zahlreiche hilfreiche Anmerkungen sowie Eva Gervers M.A. für die detailreiche Beschreibung der Dekoration von Grab N13.1. Ihr ist die Identifikation vieler Szenen durch minutiöse Analyse von Fotos und originaler Dekoration gelungen, wo auf den ersten Blick nur noch Farbflecken erhalten zu sein scheinen.

Bibliografie

Arnold, Di., *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, Band 3: *Die königlichen Beigaben* (Mainz: AV 24, 1981).

Balcz, H., "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches", *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 50-87.

Balcz, H., "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches. Fortsetzung des Artikels in Band III, Heft I", *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 88-114.

Balcz, H., "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches (Fortsetzung des Aufsatzes in Band III, Heft 1 und 2)", *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 18-36.

Balcz, H., "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches (Fortsetzung und Schluß)", *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 45-94.

Beck, T., "Tomb I, Shaft 1", in J. Kahl, A. Alansary, U. Verhoeven, T. Beck, E. Czyżewska-Zalewska, E. Gervers, A. Kilian, "The Asyut Project: Twelfth Season of Fieldwork (2016)", *SAK* 46 (2017), 131-41.

Capart, J., "Rapport sur une Fouille Faite du 14 au 20 Février 1927 dans la Nécropole de Héou", *ASAE* 27 (1927), 43-8.

Chassinat, É, Ch. Palanque, *Une Campagne de Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout* (Kairo: MIFAO 24, 1911).

Czerny, E., *Tell el-Dabᶜa,* vol. XXII. *„Der Mund der beiden Wege". Die Siedlung und der Tempelbezirk des Mittleren Reichs von Ezbet Ruschdi*, Teil 1: *Text*, Teil 2: *Abbildungen – Tafeln – Pläne – Profile – Schnitte* (Wien: UZK 38, 2015).

D'Amicone, E., M. Pozzi Battaglia (Hgg.), *Egitto Mai Visto. La Montagna dei Morti: Assiut Quattromila Anni fa.* Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, monumenti e collezioni provincali, 30 maggio–8 novembre 2009 (Trento, 2009).

Daressy, G., "Fouilles de Deir el Bircheh", *ASAE* 1 (1900), 17-34.

Dominicus, B., *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: SAGA 10, 1994).

Eggebrecht, A. (Hg.), *Ägypten. Geheimnis der Grabkammern* (Mainz, 1993).

El-Khadragy, M., "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut", *SAK* 35 (2006), 147-64.

El-Khadragy, M., "Fishing, Fowling and Animal-handling in the Tomb of Djefaihapi I at Asyut", *BACE* 18 (2007), 125-44.

El-Khadragy, M., "Some Significant Features in the Decoration of the Chapel of Iti-ibi(-iqer) at Asyut", *SAK* 36 (2007), 105-35.

El-Khadragy, M., "The Shrine of the Rock-cut Chapel of Djefaihapi I at Asyut", *GM* 212 (2007), 41-62.

El-Khadragy, M., "Tomb I: Great Transverse Hall, Western Wall", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, with a contribution by Abd el-Naser Yasin, "The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007)", *SAK* 37 (2008), 205-6.

El-Khadragy, M., "The Nomarchs of Asyut During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 31-46.

El-Khadragy, M., J. Kahl, "Preliminary Report of Fieldwork Season 2007 in the Necropolis of Asyut", *ASAE* 83, 177-89.

Engel, E.-M., J. Kahl, "Die Grabanlage Djefaihapis I. in Assiut: ein Rekonstruktionsversuch", in J. Popielska-Grzybowska, O. Białostocka, J. Iwaszczuk (Hgg.), *Proceedings of the Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists. Egypt 2004: Perspectives of Research. Warsaw 12–14 May 2004* (Pułtusk, 2009), 55-64.

Faltings, D., *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich. Ikonographie und Archäologie eines Gebrauchsartikels* (Heidelberg: SAGA 14, 1998).

Gervers, E., *Die Bildgraffiti des Neuen Reiches in Grab N13.1 in Assiut/Mittelägypten* (unpublizierte M.A.-Arbeit: Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz – Mainz, 2013), in Druckvorbereitung für: Verhoeven, U. (Hg.), *Texte und Zeichnungen von Besuchern im Grab des Iti-ibi(-iqer), Assiut N13.1* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project, in Vorbereitung).

Hudáková, L., "Innovative Power of Middle Kingdom Tomb Decoration as Reflected in the Scenes of Grain Processing, Bread-Making and Brewing", in J. Budka, R. Gundacker, G. Pieke (Hgg.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum – Eine wissenschaftliche Blütenlese von Schülern und Freunden für Helmut Satzinger zum 75. Geburtstag am 21. Jänner 2013* (Göttingen: GM Beihefte 14, 2013), 159-88.

Kahl, J., "Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge",

GM 211 (2006), 25-9.

Kahl, J., *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 1, 2007).

Kahl, J., "Tomb I: Great Transverse Hall, eastern and southern walls", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, with a contribution by Abd el-Naser Yasin, "The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007)", *SAK* 37 (2008), 205.

Kahl, J., "Asyut and The Asyut Project", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 1-29.

Kahl, J., *Die Zeit selbst lag nun tot darnieder. Die Stadt Assiut und ihre Nekropolen nach westlichen Reiseberichten des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts: Konstruktion, Destruktion und Rekonstruktion* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 5, 2013).

Kahl, J., "Tomb I (P10.1, Djefai-Hapi I)", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, H. Faheed Ahmed, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahiem, I. Regulski, M. Becker, E. Czyzewska-Zalewska, A. Kilian, M. Stecher, T. Rzeuska, "The Asyut Project: Eleventh Season of Fieldwork (2014)", *SAK* 44 (2015), 121-4.

Kahl, J., "Introduction", in J. Kahl, N. Deppe, D. Goldsmith, A. Kilian, Ch. Kitagawa, J. Moje, M. Zöller-Engelhardt, *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects. Part 1* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 3, 2016), xi-xxii.

Kahl, J., *Ornamente in Bewegung: Die Deckendekoration der Großen Querhalle im Grab von Djefai-Hapi I. in Assiut* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 6, 2016).

Kahl, J., unter Mitarbeit von A. Herzberg, "Proportionen und Stile in den assiutischen Nomarchengräbern der Ersten Zwischenzeit und des Mittleren Reiches", in E. Frood, A. McDonald (Hgg.), *Decorum and Experience, Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines* (Oxford, 2013), 141-6.

Kahl, J., E.-M. Engel, L. Sanhueza-Pino, "Pottery from Asyut", in R. Schiestl, A. Seiler (Hgg.), *Handbook of the Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. II: *The Regional Volume* (Wien: The Synchronisation of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. 1, 2012), 261-71.

Kilian, A., "Pottery Offering Trays: General Observations and New Material from Asyut", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 105-18.

Kilian, A., "Pottery from P10.1, Main Shaft (Inner Hall)", in J. Kahl, A. Alansary, U. Verhoeven, T. Beck, E. Czyżewska-Zalewska, E. Gervers, A. Kilian, "The Asyut Project: Twelfth Season of Fieldwork (2016)", *SAK* 46 (2017), 141-5.

Kilian, A., *Untersuchungen zur Keramik Mittelägyptens* (unpublizierte Dissertationsschrift: Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz – Mainz, 2017), in Druckvorbereitung für: Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project.

Life and Death under the Pharaohs: Egyptian Art from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, The Netherlands, 1998.

Lopatta, M., "Das Festbankett des Gaufürsten und sein Ritualgeschirr", in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, A. Schwab (Hgg.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, vol. I (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: OLA 149, 2006), 197-205.

Radwan, A., *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens* (München: PBF II,2, 1983).

Ryan, D.P., *The Archaeological Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut, Egypt 1906/1907* (Cincinnati, 1988).

Rzeuska, T.I., "The pottery, Asyut 2011", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahiem, M. van Elsbergen, H. Fahid, A. Kilian, Ch. Kitagawa, T.I. Rzeuska, M. Zöller-Engelhardt, "The Asyut Project: Ninth Season of Fieldwork (2011)", *SAK* 41 (2012), 144-61.

Rzeuska, T.I., "Pottery from Tomb III/N12.2, V/M11.1 and Shaft P10.4", in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, H. Faheed Ahmed, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahiem, I. Regulski, M. Becker, E. Czyzewska-Zalewska, A. Kilian, M. Stecher, T.I. Rzeuska, "The Asyut Project: Eleventh Season of Fieldwork (2014)", *SAK* 44 (2015), 209-33.

Schäfer, H., *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur Griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê* (Leipzig: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902–1904, II, 1908; Nachdruck Osnabrück 1984).

Schenkel, W., "Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache", *ZÄS* 88 (1963), 131-47.

Settgast, J. (Hg.), *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Mainz, 1986).

Shafik, S., "Epigraphic Work at Asyut", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork.*

Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009 (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 59-68.

Verhoeven, U., "Die wie Kraniche balzen. Männerphantasien zur Zeit Amenhoteps III. in Assiut", in D. Kessler, R. Schulz, M. Ullmann, A. Verbovsek, S. Wimmer (Hgg.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard* (Wiesbaden: ÄUAT 76, 2009), 434-41.

Verhoeven, U., "The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N13.1: An Overview", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 47-58.

Verhoeven, U., "Literatur im Grab – Der Sonderfall Assiut", in G. Moers, K. Widmaier, A. Giewekemeyer, A. Lümers, R. Ernst (Hgg.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts* (Hamburg: LingAeg StudMon 11, 2013), 139-58.

Winlock, H., *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, MA: PMMA 18, 1955).

Zitman, M., *The Necropolis of Assiut. A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, vol. I: *Text*, vol. II: *Maps, Plans of Tombs, Illustrations, Tables, Lists* (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA: OLA 180, 2010).

Zöller-Engelhardt, M., "Wooden Models from Asyut's First Intermediate Period Tombs", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian (Hgg.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 2, 2012), 91-104.

Zöller-Engelhardt, M., "Wooden models from Tomb V", in J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahiem, M. van Elsbergen, H. Fahid, A. Kilian, Ch. Kitagawa, T.I. Rzeuska, M. Zöller-Engelhardt, "The Asyut Project: Ninth Season of Fieldwork (2011)", *SAK* 41 (2012), 190-4.

Zöller-Engelhardt, M., "Wooden Models, Tools and Weapons", in J. Kahl, N. Deppe, D. Goldsmith, A. Kilian, J. Moje, M. Zöller-Engelhardt, *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects. Part 1* (Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project 3, 2016), 1-171.

Zöller-Engelhardt, "Correlations of Wooden Model Equipment and Wall Decorations", in Vorbereitung für: Wiesbaden: The Asyut Project.

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 63-84

Populating Middle Kingdom Fauna: Inclusion and Exclusion of Zoological Iconographic Motifs in its Material Culture

Gianluca Miniaci

Abstract
The first part of this article aims at discussing an ambiguous contextual synchronism between two categories of artefacts diagnostic of the Middle Kingdom material culture: miniatures made of faience and ivory tusks decorated with carved images. These two types of objects have often been paired together in Egyptological literature, as they were occasionally found in the same archaeological contexts, although their iconographic elements seem to be completely separate: the ivory tusks feature a fauna with particular ferocity and inclination to kill, while the faience figurines are more shifted towards domestic and harmless zoological specimens. The second part of the article aims at dissecting the mechanisms behind the inclusion and exclusion of their zoological (and human) iconographic elements. The fauna related to the ideology of the uppermost levels of society seem to have been almost systematically excluded from the faience figurine corpus, while their focus is arranged around the natural environment of marshes, swamps and farming. The author attempts to reconnect the environment of the faience figurines with a rural social setting, outlined in some literary and folk texts: the 'Tale of the Herdsman', 'The Journey of the Libyan Goddess', and pre-Islamic Berber tales about a being called the tamza (Islamic ghoul).

A world in miniature: faience figurines in the Middle Kingdom

Since the Palaeolithic, humans have shaped reduced-scale artefacts in order to interpret – and construct – reality through the dimensions of a medium, engaging the surrounding world in a tactile, sensitive, visual way.[1] In the late fifth – early fourth millennium,[2] ancient Egyptians started generating reduced-scale objects, more frequently called in Egyptological literature figurines[3] or statuettes,[4] and less frequently models,[5] miniatures,[6] or small-scale objects.[7] In the Naqada III and Early Dynastic Period assemblages of figurines made of different materials, principally ivory, bone, stone and faience, start to appear on a large scale and across the whole country,[8] where they were mainly included in the votive deposits of early temples at sites such as at Tell el-Farkha, Tell Ibrahim Awad, Abydos, Hierakonpolis, and Elephantine.[9] From the late Old Kingdom onwards, figurines and models were included in burials more frequently and on a larger scale.[10] Of these, a diagnostic type of small-scale object made of faience appeared in the material culture around 1800 BC and forms the focus of this study.[11] These Middle Kingdom faience figurines include a very broad spectrum of zoological forms taken from the Egyptian natural environment and a limited range of human figures, principally representing so-called "dwarfs"[12] and "truncated-leg ladies",[13] the latter comprising female beings deprived of their lower legs.[14] The corpus consists also of a few composite creatures and other objects from the vegetal and inanimate worlds, such as models of fruits, vegetables, dishes, jars, cups, bowls and balls.[15]

[1] Meskell, *World Archaeology* 47/1, 16; Bailey, in Bolger (ed.), *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, 245.
[2] Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, 97-104. In the Predynastic Period, a hiatus in our documentation is attested in correspondence with Naqada IIC-D, see: Stevenson, in Insoll (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Figurines*, 66, 77-8.
[3] Waraksa, in Wendrich, *UEE*.
[4] Janes, *Shabtis: A Private View*.
[5] Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs*.
[6] Odler, Dulíková, *World Archaeology* 47/1.
[7] Foxall, *World Archaeology* 47/1.
[8] Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, 171-9.
[9] Miniaci, "Early Dynastic Votive Offerings"; Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens*; Bussmann, in Friedman, Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3*; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 116-31.
[10] Peter Ucko listed only 81 anthropomorphic figurines excavated from among an estimated 5000 burials in the Predynastic, Ucko, *Anthropomorphic Figurines*, 69-116.
[11] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 112-21; Miniaci, *JEgH* 7/1, 109-42.
[12] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 279-85.
[13] Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198-234; see: Tooley, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 424-5.
[14] For the interpretation of these figurines as regeneration figures connected with the *khener*-dancers of Hathor, see: Morris, *JARCE* 47, 101-3; Morris, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*.
[15] For a more complete overview of these iconographic categories, see: Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*. Several examples

This corpus of figurines, although comparable to varying extents with other artefacts produced in earlier[16] and later[17] periods and with contemporaneous models made of different materials,[18] is rather unique both in the range of motifs and in the technique of manufacture used.[19] Also, the archaeological context of Middle Kingdom faience figurines is unlike that of other similar miniature objects found in adjacent time frames, since they are mainly found in funerary contexts, at least in the Nile valley,[20] and seem to be especially designed for the post-mortem cult; they are surprisingly absent from cultic environments such as temples and shrines.[21] Finally, as closely comparable figurine types are absent from archaeological contexts of both earlier and later periods,[22] the faience figurines in this study represent a defining moment within the material culture of the Middle Kingdom.

An aseptic epistemology: faience figurines in isolation

The meaning of faience figurines is concealed beneath their silent, lustrous surfaces and obscured by the absence of any written words. Apart from just two instances,[23] any explicit symbolic signs are also entirely absent. This is further compounded by the fact that details of their archaeological context are rarely known, as undisturbed finds are extremely uncommon.[24] The only prospect for an etiological analysis of these objects comes from their iconography, *i.e.* the embodiment of a representation channelled through a medium. Figurines are 'representations' and, as pointed out by Douglass Bailey, every act of representation is an interpretation of reality, or, more precisely, a construction of a reality.[25] Figurines embody the maker's[26] synthetic consciousness, as s/he manipulates the world through his/her eye, his/her hand, and his/her cognitive knowledge. Therefore, although their iconography does not give access to past reality,[27] it does represent the key to the cognitive processes generated by a society: the 'world' they wanted to represent/create.

However, when scholars are faced with the iconography of a single Middle Kingdom faience figurine, their explanations vary according to the subject represented and are sometimes divergent within the same subject. For instance, not only is the hippopotamus considered to be one of the fiercest animals inhabiting the Nile and a great danger to people, but at the same time also a benign, protective force (above all in her role as female counterpart).[28] Likewise, canid iconography is sometimes associated with the forces inhabiting the dangerous desert or with the tame creature well integrated into domestic family life.[29] Similarly, the dwarf symbolism may be easily related to fertility and childbirth, as reported in papyrus Leiden I 348 that recommends a woman to wear a 'dwarf of clay' during childbirth,[30] but is related also to the ritual dance associated with funeral celebrations and rejuvenating powers,[31] or used as a catalyst to attract good luck.[32] In conclusion, when considered in isolation, faience figurines provide few clues on which a coherent hypothesis on their meaning and their use in ancient Egyptian society could be based: each figure has iconographic peculiarities that contain elements of several symbolic – often contrasting – values.

Statistically, in 48% of the documented archaeological contexts, faience figurines do not occur in isolation, but are often coupled with at least one other element from the same corpus, as for example with tomb G62 at Abydos (vessel, bowl, lion-hippopotamus, lion-maned/-

can be also found in Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 112-21.

[16] Miniaci, "Early Dynastic Votive Offerings".

[17] Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 79-120.

[18] *Cf.* Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 111-2 (cat. no. 98: lion-maned human being), 117-8 (cat. no. 109: crocodile), 122-3 (cat. no. 115: dwarf with her child).

[19] Miniaci, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes*.

[20] Miniaci, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 265-70.

[21] Senwosret I transformed most of the local temples into state temples, run by the central government; therefore the absence of figurines might have been due to the changing status of temples in Egypt, see: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom*, 37-41; Bussmann, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*. I am indebted to Wolfram Grajetzki for several observations on this point, *cf.* Miniaci, *Ä&L* 28.

[22] *Cf.* Tristant, in Di Biase-Dyson, Donocan (eds.), *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience*.

[23] E.g. Nilotic decoration including birds and plants on the hippopotamus Louvre E 7709 (Musée du Louvre, Paris), Delange, Nisole, in *Visibilité de la restauration, lisibilité de l'œuvre*, 143-50; the *s3*-sign held by the standing lion, Leiden EG-ZM2364 (Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden, Leiden), Schneider, *Life and Death*, 105 (no. 166).

[24] Miniaci, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 238-41.

[25] Bailey, in Bolger (ed.), *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, 245.

[26] Including the commissioner's and end-user's influence.

[27] "Making figurines was not a mimetic process", Meskell, *World Archaeology* 47/1, 14, and further, "object of material culture demand equal rights with language, not to be turned into language", Meskell, *World Archaeology* 47/1, 16.

[28] Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting*, 46.

[29] Patch, in Oppenheim *et al*., *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 209-10 (cat. no. 147).

[30] Papyrus Leiden I 348, vs. XII.6, Borghouts, *OMRO* 51, 29; *cf*. Theis, *Magie und Raum*, 213.

[31] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 157.

[32] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 134.

Fig. 1 - The group of figurines from tomb G62 of Abydos (from left to right: lion-hippopotamus, goat/antelope, grotesque creature/'dwarf', lion-maned/-eared human creature). British Museum, London, BM EA 37296–99 © Trustees of the British Museum. Photo Gianluca Miniaci

eared human creature, 'dwarf', goat or antelope, Fig. 1).[33] Therefore, the most productive way to approach this corpus is to analyse their iconographic value not within the atomic isolation of a single element, but rather under a unitary lens, since they all formed individual parts of a larger, interconnected ensemble. However, although a detailed study on this category of object is lacking,[34] scholars have attempted general interpretative explanations for their iconographic selection:

a. as substitutes for painted/relief decorated scenes in funerary chambers (where such scenes are absent), since they often represent creatures of the natural environment;[35]

b. as symbolic images of the regenerative forces of nature, playing a key role in the cycles of life and death, and, therefore, could have been connected with the critical moment of birth – and rebirth;[36]

c. as domestic magic items to counter negative aspects of the environment and to direct natural forces to peoples' advantage;[37]

d. as votive offerings related to a more intimate piety;[38]

e. as toys for children.[39]

Although these figurines could have come from daily life and temple contexts – notwithstanding their invisibility in domestic and cult contexts of the Nile valley during the Middle Kingdom – their prevalence in funerary contexts of the period has influenced the orientation of the hypotheses towards *a.* and *b*.

Hypothesis *a.* does not take into consideration the fact that the representations on the walls of Old and Middle Kingdom tombs usually depict scenes of daily life, *i.e.* domestic activities, especially focussing on the production of food. Wooden estate and boat models, placed in the tombs of the immediately preceding cultural phase (late Old Kingdom – mid Twelfth Dynasty), may have been used to reconnect the deceased with the living world, as they aim to represent human activities connected with the needs of the deceased such as sustenance or mobility.[40] This may involve, to a varying extent, a limited number of zoological entities, but not as the main focus; in contrast, faience figurine iconography focusses on the faunal and non-human dimensions (80.9%). In addition, the burial chamber (the non-accessible space) where faience figurines were usually placed – inside the coffin or among the funerary equipment –[41] has no immediate spatial bonds with the two-dimensional scenes usually occupying the upper (and accessible) part of the funerary structure, *i.e.* the chapel.[42]

In hypothesis *b.*, the idea that faience figurines were used for the protection of the deceased during the critical moment of resurrection to a new and eternal

[33] British Museum, London, BM EA 37294–37299, see: Miniaci, in Regulski (ed.), *Abydos: The Sacred Land*.
[34] Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*.
[35] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 120.
[36] Miniaci, *JEgH* 7/1, 121-2.
[37] Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 190.
[38] Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 342-6.
[39] Janssen, Janssen, *Growing up*, 46. Discussion in: Tooley, *GM* 123, 101-11; Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 141-51.
[40] Eschenbrenner-Diemer, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 171-81.
[41] *Cf.* Brunton, *Matmar*, 56, pl. XLVII.17; Flinders Petrie, Wainwright, MacKay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 35-6, pl. 30. Discussion in: Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*.
[42] *Cf.* "secrecy function" against "memory function", Assmann, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 46-52.

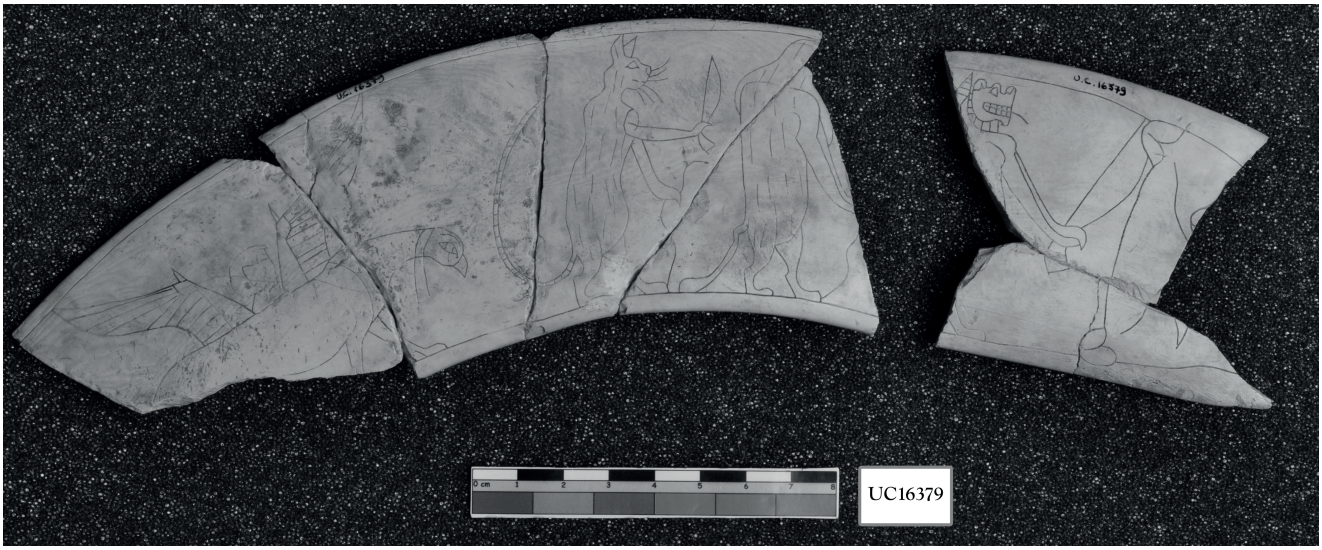


Fig. 2 - Ivory tusk UC 16379 © Photo Gianluca Miniaci, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL

life has derived mainly from them being perceived as three-dimensional analogues of the iconography carved on ivory tusks. The latter are worked (hippopotamus) ivory tusks decorated with a series of protective figures, and occasionally inscribed. They are usually called magical wands or knives, more commonly known as *Zaubermesser*;[43] recently, Stephen Quirke introduced the term "birth tusks"[44] in order to differentiate them from other ivory wands, for instance clappers or plain uninscribed tusks. The range of imagery reproduced on the surface of the birth tusks had the symbolic purpose of protecting the rise of the sun-god from evil entities (Fig. 2).[45] The same protection seems to be directly transferred via these tusks onto the human reproductive process, for the mother and the child during the pregnancy and childbirth. Indeed, some of the birth tusks bear short inscriptions explicitly referring to the 'protection of life', especially of children and pregnant women. In addition, some painted scenes depicting nurses holding these tusks or tusk-like objects seem to reinforce the idea of birth protection attached to this category of object.[46] As these tusks are known principally from funerary contexts, the concept of 'birth protection' was in turn also extended to the deceased, whose destiny can be assimilated into that of a newly born infant, requiring the same protection (provided by the birth tusks during childbirth) and sharing a common pattern of (re)birth and defence against destructive forces.[47]

Faience figurines and ivory tusks: an ambiguous contextual synchronism

Although, as explicitly pointed out by Janine Bourriau, faience figurines and birth tusks represent two different categories of objects, each with their own repertoire of protective imagery,[48] their contextual synchronism has prompted scholars to find close analogies between them. As a result, faience figurines are often interpreted as protective media in rituals connected with childbirth, providing – with their apotropaic forms – defence against the inherent dangers associated with the act.[49] Sometimes such an analogical bridge connecting the two categories is made explicit by scholars: "[faience figurines are] clearly three-dimensional versions of the protective demons which appear on magic rods and knives";[50] "faience figurines and the closely related apotropaic objects [ivory wands, birth bricks, segmented rods]";[51] "like the so called 'magic wands' or 'birth tusks', the principal role of these figurines seems to be one of protection in rituals connected with childbirth".[52]

The proposed interconnection between faience figurines and birth tusks is based on three (but as will be seen not all valid) reasons: 1. chronological simultaneity; 2. concurrence in the same archaeological context; 3. overlapping of iconographic motifs.

1. *Chronological simultaneity* (validity: 100%). Except for a few doubtful cases which could belong to the early

[43] Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia*.
[44] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*.
[45] Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 458-63.
[46] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 576 (social context and function).
[47] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 14; Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 358-9.
[48] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 118.
[49] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 116; Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 131.
[50] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 116.
[51] Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 190.
[52] Miniaci, *JEgH* 7/1, 121.

Middle Kingdom (2055–1950 BC),[53] a high concentration of faience figurines can be firmly attributed to late Middle Kingdom contexts (1800–1650 BC),[54] especially those documented in key sites of the late Middle Kingdom such as Lisht (ca. 196 items), Lahun (22 + 15 –?– items)[55] and Harageh (28 items). A large group (*c.* 294 items) of faience figurines were found at Byblos in deposit 15121–155667, dated to 1800–1650 BC.[56] Around the mid-late Second Intermediate Period they suddenly disappear from burial equipment and from the archaeological record.[57] Outside Egypt, their inclusion in burials seems to extend slightly beyond the limit of the late Middle Kingdom, especially in Nubia. Around 45 faience figurines (excluding vessel fragments) were recorded by George Reisner in the massive circular burial mounds of the Kerma necropolis.[58] The tumuli date to the Classic Kerma Period, which spans from the mid-Second Intermediate Period to the very early Eighteenth Dynasty, *c.* 1600–1500 BC.[59]

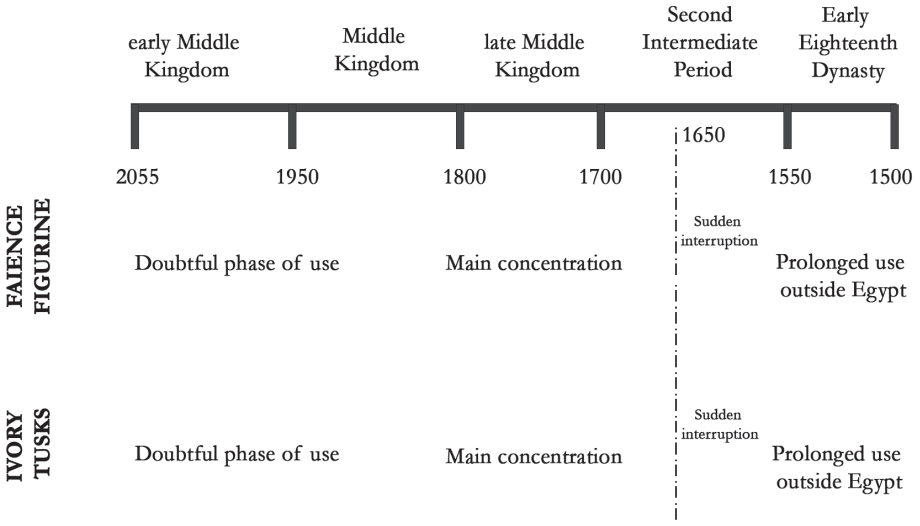


Fig. 3 - Scheme showing the chronological sequences of the faience figurines and ivory tusks in the material culture of the Middle Kingdom. Drawn by Gianluca Miniaci

The chronological sequence of ivory tusks follows a parallel timeline. The earliest depiction of a birth tusk appears in the object frieze on the coffin of the governor Djehutynakht at Dayr al-Barsha dating to about 2000 BC.[60] A hippopotamus tusk decorated with an animal head at one end, but lacking any incised decoration, was found placed at the wall of the great chapel of general Intef at Deir el-Bahari, a contemporary of king Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (2055–2004 BC).[61] A few doubtful birth tusks may belong to the early-mid Middle Kingdom (1950–1850 BC).[62] However, the vast majority come from dated archaeological contexts belonging to the late Middle Kingdom, from the reign of Senwosret III (or later) to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (the end of a unified polity). The decorated tusk of king Se(ne)bkay, whose tomb has recently been identified by Josef Wegner at Abydos,[63] may extend this time span even later towards 1700–1650 BC.[64] One tusk from Nubia may testify in favour of the use of this type of object into the Second Intermediate Period outside Egypt; the deposit dates to the Classic Kerma Period, around 1600–1500 BC.[65] Therefore, the chronological simultaneity of appearance and disappearance from the archaeological record inside and outside Egypt is totally overlapping (Fig. 3).

2. *Concurrence in the same archaeological context* (validity: 12%). The resonance of some well-known cases such as the Ramesseum group (preserved with an important group of papyri, Fig. 4), that of Renseneb and, more recently, Neferhotep, has influenced the overall

[53] Miniaci, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 260-3.
[54] *Cf.* Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 165-74.
[55] Miniaci, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes*.
[56] Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, *Texte*, 741-66; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, *Atlas*, pls. 93-108; reassessed in Miniaci, *Ä&L* 28.
[57] Miniaci, in Taylor, Vandenbeusch (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*.
[58] Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, parts IV–V, 173-4.
[59] Lacovara, *BzS* 2, 51-74.
[60] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 575.
[61] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 195 (t12).
[62] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 231.
[63] Wegner, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 479-83.
[64] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 231.
[65] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 180 (Ke1).

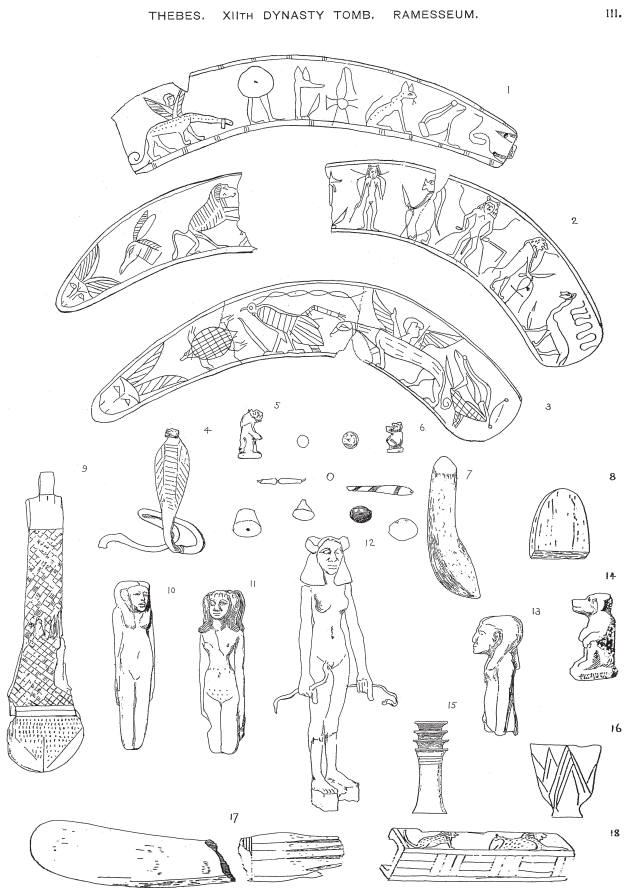


Fig. 4 - The objects from Ramesseum Tomb 5. Published in: Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 3. Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

approach and accepted parameters of the group, although the validity ratio shown by the archaeological evidence is rather antithetical. Faience figurines and ivory tusks are attested in the same archaeological context only 13 (11+2 of doubtful interpretation) times out of 171 archaeological contexts:

Lisht North (7): House Pit 1; Pit 378; Pit 391; Pit 475; Pit 883; Pit 884; Pit 885;[66]

Thebes (4): Ramesseum group (under storeroom no. 5);[67] tomb of Renseneb (Asasif, tomb C 37/25);[68] tomb of Neferhotep (Dra Abu el-Naga);[69] tomb no. XI under the temple of Thutmosis III.[70]

Due to the doubtful presence of ivory tusks in the two contexts below (recorded by excavators, but without picture/drawing or too fragmentary to be certain of identification),[71] these have been separated from the above group:

Esna (1): tombs 256;[72]
Kerma (1): Tumulus K III.[73]

It must also be noted that all these groups come from disturbed contexts. Most of the tombs from Lisht located south of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, show a disturbed context (Pit 883), or were used for multiple burials with the subsequent disturbance of material (Pits 378, 391, 883), or appear closely interconnected with later houses built over them (Pit 885).[74] In addition, since these tombs were excavated by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition at the beginning of the Twentieth Century and still await full publication, any deductions based on the available information should be made with caution. The situation is not dissimilar for the Theban contexts. The group of objects from the tomb under storeroom no. 5 of the Ramesseum was found at the bottom of the shaft, in a heap in the middle *c.* 60 cm square.[75] However, with intrusive material of the Third Intermediate Period scattered throughout the shaft and at the end two completely emptied burial chambers, it is doubtful that the group of objects were originally a single set and may have been amassed from different funerary rooms, or even brought there from outside.[76] The burial equipment of Renseneb shared a comparable fate, as its set of objects was removed from the original burial chamber to make way for some late Second Intermediate Period intrusive burials and was found at the bottom of the shaft. A similar circumstance can be observed with the tomb of Neferhotep, which was excavated by Auguste Mariette in the Nineteenth Century, but who failed to make a detailed record of the archaeological situation. From the inscriptional evidence, all the objects collected and registered under the label "tombeau de Neferhotep" may have come from a single burial that was probably found undisturbed,[77] but excavations led by Luigi Vassalli on behalf of Mariette testify to the presence of multiple burials in the same area, often labelled under the name of a single occupant (when the name was known).[78] Finally, it should be noted that the

[66] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 140-3 (House Pit 1); 153-6 (Pit 378); 149-52 (Pit 475); 167-71 (Pit 883); 201 (Pit 884); 172-8 (Pit 885).
[67] Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3-4.
[68] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 54-5; Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 10, 90.
[69] Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109.
[70] Martínez Babón, in Rosati, Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress*, 384-6.
[71] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 204-5.
[72] Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 8, 106 (256); 106 (325).
[73] Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, parts IV–V, 173-4.
[74] *Cf.* Arnold, in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 13-21.
[75] Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3; Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 20.
[76] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 98-104.
[77] Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 341.
[78] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 56-63.

archaeological context of tomb XI under the temple of Thutmosis III has yet to be discussed in detail.[79]

When the overlapping number cited above (11+2) is compared with all documented cases where faience figurines have been found without a birth tusk, considerable doubt is cast on there being a mutual relationship suggested by their concurrence in the same archaeological context. Nonetheless, even if small, the percentage of overlap remains important evidence (see below).

3. *Overlay of iconographic motifs* (validity: 4.8%). The majority of representations on birth tusks from documented excavations are of composite creatures; lion-hippopotamus, jackal-headed legs, winged-griffin, frontal depiction of a lion-maned human figure, legged disk, long-necked feline, wrapped cow, human-headed cobra, double sphinx, double bull, lion-headed legs, feline with short neck and long legs.[80] Most of these creatures are missing from the corpus of faience figurines; only the lion-hippopotamus and the lion-maned/-eared human figure (respectively identified by scholars in later sources with Ipy/Taweret and Aha/Bes) occur in a low percentage of all known figurines. Only faience figures of four lion-maned/-eared human creatures (Aha/Bes) and twelve lion-hippopotamus (Ipy/Taweret) are known, which actually correspond to 0.5% and 1.3% respectively of the whole corpus of faience figurines (Fig. 5). It is noteworthy that all but one of the lion-hippopotamus faience figurines come from a single context: the *pro-cella* deposit of the Obelisk Temple at Byblos.[81] The standing lions, crocodiles, servals/wild cats and baboons may represent other points of contact between the two categories of artefacts. However, they represent a low percentage within the entire animal/human corpus (13.2%). The faunal range of birth tusks evokes the combination of feline predators of the high desert with amphibians, providing protection based on 'killing', centred on the voracious, dangerous, fearful aspects of the high desert, as well as marsh liminal/threshold-crossing creatures. On birth tusks, animals from the flood plain and the human population (except for killed enemies) are absent.[82] Summing up, the overall percentage of iconographic overlap between faience figurines and the carved figures on ivory tusks is only around 4.5%. Again, as noted for point 2, the percentage of overlap here is also too low to establish a solid correlation between the two categories of objects.

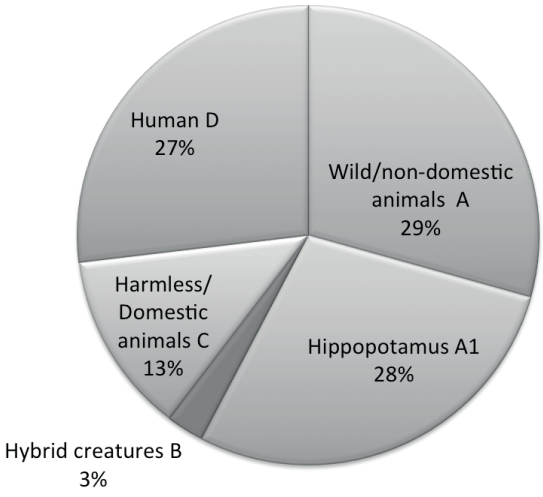


Fig. 5 - Chart showing the distribution of motifs within the corpus of the faience figurines, by Gianluca Miniaci

Thus, the focus of faience figurines appears to lean also towards a domestic, harmless, and natural environment. This apparent contrast with birth tusks demands a more accurate analysis of the iconographic corpus of faience figurines in order to understand the frame(s) of reference for their creation.

Dissecting the corpus of faience figurines: separating iconographic clusters

Faience figurines were not meant to interact together realistically as they were predominantly standing alone on an elongated oval base, whose edge is painted in black. Only a few cases of interaction between two beings are shown in the corpus of faience figurines: a human figure carrying a calf (e.g. Brooklyn Museum E. 61.164) or carrying a baby/ies (e.g. Metropolitan Museum, New York, acc. no. 09.180.2271), a child playing with a dog (e.g. Antikenmuseum Basel, LgAe NN 037) and a lion attacking a calf (e.g. British Museum, London, BM EA 22876). Represented as isolated atoms, they are also rarely combined with other faience figurines in a coherent and patterned ensemble; 'hippopotamus + dog' and 'hippopotamus + human being' can be considered the most recurrent association, although such combinations seem rather randomly governed. Difficulties in identifying individual iconographic blocks of sequence and association is also increased by the fact that most of these figurines come from sequential multiple burials,[83] which contributed to the scattering and mixing of burial

[79] Martínez Babón, in Rosati, Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress*, 384.
[80] Arranged in decreasing order of attestation, see: Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 224.
[81] Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, *Texte*, 745-6.
[82] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 565-6.
[83] Miniaci, *CAJ* 2018.

equipment from individual contexts.[84] In conclusion, based on our current state of knowledge, there is no apparent logic in associating faience elements together in the same context.

The mechanisms behind figurine production involves interpretative patterns of reality, *i.e.* figurines symbolise the relationship between people and their world, as it is seen, evaluated, perceived and communicated.[85] Therefore, their production requires a process of selection, representation, and prioritisation of elements. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of zoological (and human) elements in the production of faience figurines are clear-cut and evident, and they follow a deliberate logic, as they precisely exclude some elements and encompass others. Therefore faience figurines were assembled into a meta-narrative dialogue, systematically conceived and produced all together under a premeditated logic, and not randomly assembled at the whim of their maker. For this reason, the main aim of this study is to identify the boundaries affecting the choices made by their makers in order to understand the ontology that lies behind the corpus of Middle Kingdom faience figurines.

Inclusion

The known corpus of the faience figurines includes *c.* 773 examples from archaeological contexts[86] and *c.* 253 acquired through purchase; therefore the provenance of the latter is completely unknown or just assumed and arrived at chiefly on the basis of the place of purchase or the dealer's statement, neither of which is reliable in the absence of additional information;[87] *c.* 52 items recently appeared on the antiquity market and were sold in the most renowned auction houses.[88] With these, the final corpus of Middle Kingdom faience figurines numbers about 1078 items.

Fig. 6 - Faience hippopotamus from Lisht North, Pit 333, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 15.3.59, Rogers Fund, 1915. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Most of the faience figurines represent zoological entities,[89] with only 19.1% depicting human beings; unexpectedly, composite images amount to only 2.1%. Mainly due to the disproportionate number of hippopotami (*c.* 196 examples targeted; Fig. 6), the wild component appears as the principal focus of the faience figurine corpus. Lions (Pl. XIV.1) and hippopotami, representing wild and dangerous environments, are not shown as composite beings but in the shape they appear in nature (with the addition of an 'interpretative' decorative pattern). Other animals that may be associated with the chaotic and wild environment of the desert, such as the hedgehog (Pl. XIV.2), wild cat, and jerboa, cannot be directly connected with the same dangerous and voracious facets. In addition, the wild and fierce nature of animals, including the act of killing (e.g. British Museum, London, BM EA 22876), is rarely depicted. Most animals (82%) are simply shown standing, sleeping or crouching and not performing any act to indicate their attitude towards the surrounding world. The corpus also includes a significant number of tame or harmless creatures, taken both from the flood plain and the marshes, and occasionally shown interacting with human activities. Although most of the figurines seem isolated in their own individuality and completely detached from the surrounding environment, there are a few ecological references: hippopotami are decorated with aquatic plants and – less frequently – with insects and birds, all symbolizing their marsh and swamp habitat (e.g. Museum of Fine Arts,

[84] Miniaci, in Regulski (ed.), *Abydos: The Sacred Land*; Miniaci, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture*.

[85] Answer of Douglass W. Bailey in: Hamilton, *CAJ* 6/2, 295.

[86] For the difference in the degree of accuracy in the archaeological documentation, see: Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*.

[87] Miniaci, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes*.

[88] The data has been drawn from the most accessible auction catalogues such as Christie's, Sotheby's etc. This work was made possible through the support of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan during my period of research fellowship in the British Museum, London.

[89] Typologically classification of animals into Darwinian species would be an anachronistic application of our categories of thinking for past societies, since anatomical, morphological, and biological categorisation of reality may be a system divergent from ancient Egyptian logic, *cf.* Keimer, *Université Ibrahim. Annales de la Faculté des Lettres* 2, 121-34. I prefer to keep each division as broad categories, often following an ecological division (*cf.* Arnold, *BMMA, NS* 52/4, 5-6), or an anthropological criterion that categorises animals in wild versus domestic, *i.e.* dangerous/harmful versus docile/harmless (=[proximity] intimacy, comfort, control versus [distance] otherness, discomfort, fear), see: Serjeantson, in Rowley-Conwy (ed.), *Animal Bones*; O'Connor, in Campana (ed.), *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology.*

Fig. 7 - Three images carved on ivory tusks, from left to right UC 15917, UC 16383, UC 35309. Photo © Gianluca Miniaci, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL

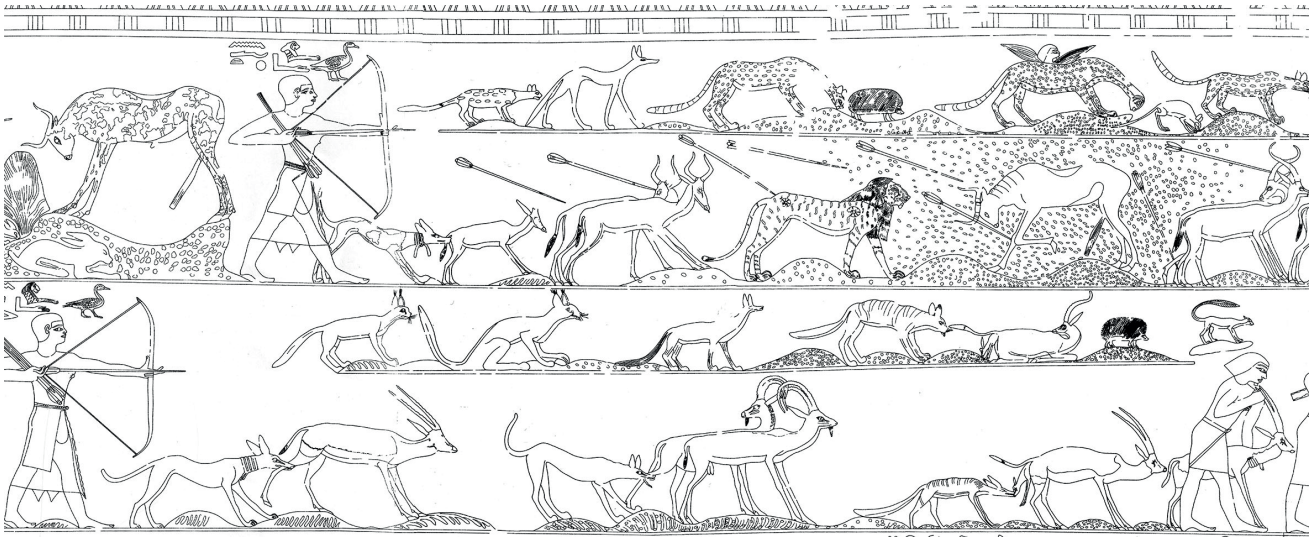


Fig. 8 - Detail from the hunt scene in the chapel of Khnumhotep II, Beni Hasan. Courtesy of Naguib Kanawati; *cf.* Kanawati, Evans, *Beni Hassan*, vol. I, pl. 124

Boston, acc. no. 51.8). Similar images of riverine plants and birds can be found decorating miniature faience jars, cups, bowls and vessels (e.g. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 20.1303) which are often associated with faience animals. The so-called 'dwarfs' carrying calves or small animals (Pl. XIV.3) and children playing with dogs are reminiscent of a pastoral and rural world.

Therefore, the main features represented by birth tusks (killing, voracity, fearful desert forces, and hybridisation, Fig. 7) are rather marginal aspects in faience figurines, given the low number of hybrid creatures and the few examples presenting facets of killing/obvious ferocity. Furthermore, a symbolic reference to protection is almost never explicitly indicated as it is for birth tusks; rather it is the natural world, more frequently aligned to the marsh and swamp, that is preferred to the distant cosmos of the desert. Also symbolism and the use of hieroglyphs, components embedded in birth tusks, are absent or marginal in respect of faience figurines. Conversely, harmless animals and human beings play a much more crucial role with faience figurines than they do with birth tusks, where they are virtually absent.

Exclusion

The relationship between the represented object and its representational subject is based not only on the imaginative forces which lay behind the creation of the miniature figurines but also on the negative (in the sense of subtractive) processes, *i.e.* the isolation/exclusion of specific components.

Horned herbivores inhabiting the desert region are systematically excluded from the corpus of faience figurines: oryx, gazelle, ibex, hartebeest, antelope and wild bull. In the Middle Kingdom, these animals become the main focus of 'hunting in the desert' scenes represented in wall-paintings and reliefs found in above-ground tomb chapels of regional governors (Fig. 8). However, more than simply portraying realistic daily events widespread among the population, the 'hunting in the desert' environment[90] encapsulates a message copied from royalty by the regional ruling class.[91] Janice Kamrin has demonstrated that these hunting scenes and the treatment of their prominent figures in Middle

[90] *Cf.* Altenmüller, in *LÄ*, vol. III, 221.
[91] Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 83-9.

Kingdom chapels were inspired primarily by similar scenes occurring at royal centres. In Old Kingdom temple scenes, the king is represented as the primary hunter[92] thus emphasizing his physical domination (= identification with Horus) over the chaotic power of the desert and marshes and their animal dwellers (= identification with evil forces, enemies of the gods).[93] The decoration in private tomb chapels of the early-mid Middle Kingdom, depicting provincial nomarchs themselves as the hunter in the desert and marshes, display the same ideology of power.[94] Moreover, oryx, antelope, gazelle and ibex represented the ideal wild game food source for nobles rather than for wider segments of the population. In the same vein, some of the horned herbivores may have had a strong connection with royalty and also with the goddess Hathor.[95] The relationship between Hathor and the horned and herbivore animals of the desert is not only explicitly stated in some Late and Roman Period tales: "May she (the deceased) find Hathor who resides in the West […] while the hartebeests, the gazelles and the deer, the animals of the mountain are on the sand before her",[96] but is also present in the iconographic motifs of pharaonic times, such as on the glazed steatite vase found in Abydos tomb D10, which has a Hathor face surrounded by an ibex, a hare, a goat, a feline, and a hunting-dog (Eighteenth Dynasty, Fig. 9).[97] The wild bull is a symbolic reference to kingship, power, and virility;[98] the wounding of the wild bull in wall scenes from the tombs of Middle Kingdom nomarchs, as represented on the northern wall of Khnumhotep II's chapel at Beni Hasan, may be interpreted symbolically as acquiring and usurping royal and divine attributes.[99] Contrarily, the only horned herbivores appearing in the faience figurine corpus are cows, calves, and rams (rare), pointing primarily to domestic, pastoral and rural environments rather than royal/power ideology.

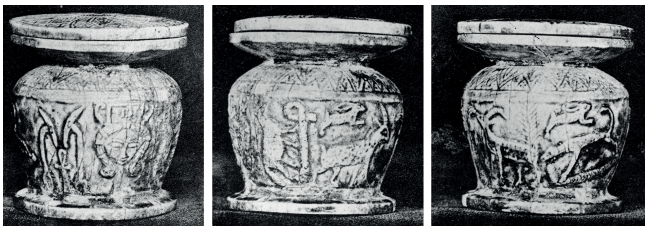


Fig. 9 - Kohl vase with raised relief series of figures, from tomb D10, Abydos. Published in: Randall-MacIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 38

Also, composite images created following the principle of an artificial anatomic reassembly of different parts of various species are deliberately absent from the faience figurine corpus. David Wengrow has demonstrated that the emergence of the first centres of power in the Early Dynastic Period is linked with the rise and spread of composite creatures: serpopards,[100] snake-necked felines,[101] griffins,[102] the winged falcon- or human-headed lion/panther,[103] double-headed bulls, female-faced snakes,[104] and anthropomorphised beetles[105] all appear on ceremonial slate palettes, ivory plaques, ivory knife handles, vessels,[106] and on a minority of small (?) objects.[107] The concept lying behind the generative process of composite images was exogenous to Egyptian culture, but was introduced into Egypt from Mesopotamia.[108] During the Predynastic Period, composite images were transmitted to Egypt on engraved seals by the same route from the Near East that brought metals, precious stones and other commodities, deployed locally in legitimisation of power status.[109] Accumulated over the decades, the number of seals bearing hybrid images most likely impacted on ancient Egyptian imagery and became instinctively tied to the social class taking advantage of foreign imports.[110] With the rise of a unified territorial state in Egypt, between 3300 and 3000 BC, images of imaginary animal creatures would have been taken as symbols of power and legitimisation of social inequality, before spreading across the country in a more structured and consistent way, tied to the uppermost segments of society;[111] for all the Old and Middle Kingdoms they remained the prerogative of selected social groups. Therefore, it cannot be accidental that most of the hybrid creatures are missing from the

[92] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal*, vol. II, pl. 17.
[93] Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 147-8. *Cf.* for the Ramesside Period: Alliot, *RdE* 5.
[94] Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 87-8.
[95] Quack, in Riemer *et al*. (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara*, 347; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 566-7.
[96] Chauveau, *RdE* 41, 3-8.
[97] Randall MacIver, Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, 97, pl. 38.
[98] Vernus, Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des Pharaons*, 562-3.
[99] Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 86.
[100] Meeks, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. I, 506.
[101] Fischer, in Farkas, Harper, Harrison (eds.), *Monsters and Demons*, 16.
[102] Sabbahy, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*.
[103] Meeks, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. I, 506.
[104] Ciałowicz, *SAAC* 15, 14-6, figs. 4-6.
[105] Roth, in Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, 198-9 (cat. no. 180). Hendrickx, *JEA* 82, 23-28, fig. 1, pl. 31.
[106] Patch, in Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, 140.
[107] In the Early Dynastic Period plastic focussed on subjects directly inspired from visual (direct or indirect) observation rather than on mental composition; composite creatures were reserved more for two dimensional representations. However, see two examples in: Ciałowicz, *SAAC* 15, 217, figs. 24-5.
[108] Wengrow, *JMC* 16/2.
[109] Wengrow, *The Origins of Monsters*, 62.
[110] Wengrow, *The Origins of Monsters*, 110-2.
[111] Wengrow, *The Origins of Monsters*, 50-73.

corpus of faience figurines, with the exclusion of the lion-maned/-eared human creature (Aha/Bes) + lion-hippopotamus (Ipy/Taweret), which are, however, represented only rarely (Fig. 10). The presence of the lion-maned/-eared human creature (Aha/Bes)[112] and lion-hippopotamus (Ipy/Taweret) could be due to the start of the diffusion of their iconography during the late Middle Kingdom.[113] This happened not only on a spatial level,[114] but may have occurred also on a wider social level and in domestic contexts.[115]

Therefore, the fauna related to the palace and temple, *i.e.* those represented in art to express more vigorously the needs and ideology of the uppermost elite, seem to have been systematically excluded from the faience figurine corpus.

Fig. 10 - Faience figurine of a lion-maned/-eared human creature (Aha/Bes). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. 48.420. Acquired by Henry Walters, 1922. Photo © Courtesy of The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Targeting the foci of faience figurine iconography

The hippopotamus is certainly the most popular icon in the corpus of faience figurines, with 196 examples recorded from excavations and among collections. In the ancient Egyptian imagination this animal was usually associated with negative and chaotic forces, as it represented one of their most real and present dangers. It is highly aggressive and known to attack humans without provocation, and renowned also in ancient and modern times as an unpredictable animal likely to charge and attack boats.[116] With its lethal canines and incisors, the noise produced by its jaws, and its incredible turn of speed, *c.* 30 km/h (hence the Greek name, 'horse of the river'), it is no overstatement to class the hippopotamus as one of the most fearful living creatures. Not surprisingly, therefore, the ancient Egyptians often presented the hippopotamus as a synonym of evil and a destructive force, frequently associated with the god Seth and ritually hunted by pharaoh in order to demonstrate his protective role to the population.[117] However, while this evil aspect applies to male animals, the female hippopotamus was perceived as a benign and benevolent creature. Female hippopotami are fiercely protective of their calves and fearless in keeping them from harm. These characteristics were clearly well known to the Egyptians, who created a composite goddess, in later sources called Taweret,[118] whose features were based on the hippopotamus (body and head) with the addition of a lion's legs and mane, and a dorsal ridge sometimes in the form of a (complete) crocodile.[119] This theriomorphic deity, with all its hippopotamus-based variants, was connected to fertility, birth (both human and the symbolic solar birth),[120] child rearing, caretaking (protection of pregnant women and small children) and in general with the same level of protection[121] that the animal's fearful power and vigilant motherly attitude engendered.[122]

Due to the high number of occurrences of hippopotami amid the faience figurine corpus, it is tempting to interpret such representations as the personification – in zoological form – of the hippopotamus-based female deity.[123] Unfortunately, faience figurines of hippopotami bear no clear indication of their gender through the emphasis of female attributes such as, for instance, the pendulous breasts of the goddess or any explicit connection to the defence of offspring. Therefore, the gender of the hippopotamus was not a main concern during the process of figurine creation. The ink

[112] Volokhine, *BSEG* 18, 81-95; Romano, *BES* 2, 39-56; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 357.
[113] Ceruti, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 98-107.
[114] Weingarten, *The Transformation of Egyptian Taweret*.
[115] Stevens, in Seyfried (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna*, 92-7.
[116] Vernus, Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des Pharaons*, 261-2.
[117] Verner, *ZÄS* 96, 53.
[118] Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd*, vol. II, 78-82; Vernus, Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des Pharaons*, 686-97; Loeben, in Quertinmont (ed.), *Dieux, Génies et Démons,* 46-53.
[119] See: Ceruti, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*, 113-4; Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 327.
[120] Nagy, in Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 449-56.
[121] Hippopotamus deities were also probably connected with the household, protecting those asleep and the weak or sick, Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting*, 46.
[122] *Cf.* Keimer, *Université Ibrahim. Annales de la Faculté des Lettres* 2, 121-34.
[123] *Cf.* Loeben, in Quertinmont (ed.), *Dieux, Génies et Démons,* 47.

decoration applied to some examples, depicting Nilotic ornithological fauna and the flora typical of marshes and swamps, seems to shift the focus from the divine to the natural environment. In fact, the hippopotamus is rarely found in deep water, favouring instead rivers, lakes and swamps. In the iconographic clichés evident in ancient Egypt, out of all the creatures inhabiting marshes and swamps the hippopotamus is commonly paired with the crocodile. This is due largely to the fact that as crocodiles and hippopotami occupy the same natural habitat there are often encounters and clashes between them. Considered as two of the most dangerous creatures in ancient Egyptian society, crocodiles and hippopotami are frequently mentioned together in literature as dangers to human life and often represented in art in the same environment (Fig. 11), sometimes fighting each other. The almost total absence of the crocodile from the corpus of faience figurines is, therefore, rather remarkable. Like hippopotami, crocodiles are also amphibious and frequent the same wetlands, river banks, marshes and swamps, and similarly they are a serious threat to people's life. The main difference between the two animals lies in the fact that crocodiles are carnivorous, feeding mostly on vertebrates such as fish, reptiles, birds and mammals, while hippopotami are insatiable (mainly) herbivores. The hippopotamus can spend hours grazing on grass, consuming up to 60–70 kg per day; in addition, at dusk, it may leave the water and travel inland, sometimes up to 10 km, often reaching cultivated lands[124] where it can devastate entire crops and kill cattle (Fig. 12).[125] There is a passage in the Coffin Texts explicitly stating that crops are one of the hippopotamus's foods.[126] Certainly, this aspect of the hippopotamus sets it apart from the crocodile and may have been one of the main concerns of the ancient Egyptians who produced the figurines and who decided to include the hippopotamus but not the crocodile, even though they were two beings from the same environment.[127]

There is another iconographic cluster inside the corpus of faience figurines that is also focused on the natural environment of fields and marshes: the so-called figures of 'dwarfs'. In fact, although improperly labelled as 'dwarfs', these faience figurines do not aim to represent achondroplasia as they do not follow the ancient Egyptian iconographic conventions for this condition. In the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom dwarf representations were characterised by their sense of realism for the physical disproportions of achondroplasia,[128] with figures displaying shorter

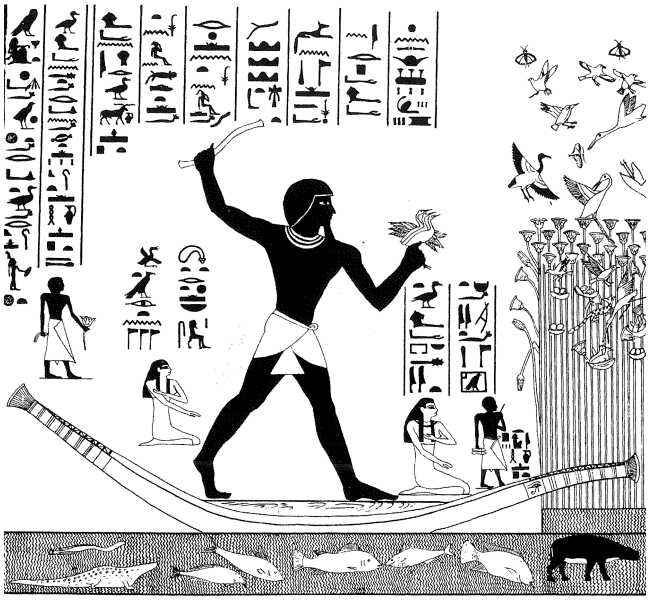


Fig. 11 - Fowling scene in chapel of Khunmhotep, Beni Hasan; noteworthy is the coincidence of hippopotamus and crocodile in the same scene. Published in: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pl. 32

Fig. 12 - Hippopotami grazing on the waterbank Photo © Riaan Albrecht, https://riaanalbrecht.wixsite.com/photography <accessed 27.09.2017>

arms and legs and a small face on a large head; such features were not exaggeratedly emphasised but most of the time they were intended just to stereotype the representation, as can be seen in the tombs of Ibi (E 62a) and Ptahhotep II (E 34).[129] Moreover, dwarfs are rarely involved in outdoor activities (except for bird-catching), probably due to their rarity/value, whereas they are often depicted looking after the owner's pet animals, such as dogs and monkeys, *i.e.* they carry out domestic and trivial activities (Fig. 13).[130] In addition, they are usually represented dressed; nudity is rarely part of their iconography.

Katalin Kóthay has indeed noted that the Middle

[124] Estes, *The Behavior Guide to African Mammals*, 222-6.
[125] Kendall, *Oryx* 45/1, 28-34.
[126] Vernus, Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des Pharaons*, 251.
[127] Arnold, *BMMA, NS* 52/4, 24.
[128] Patch, in Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, 119-21.
[129] Rupp, *CdE* 40, 280.
[130] Dasen, *Dwarfs*, 126.

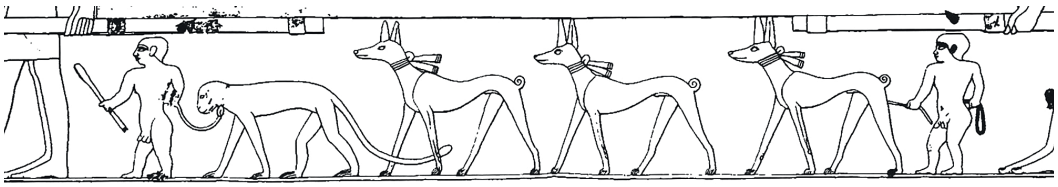


Fig. 13 - Scene from the tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara. Published in: VAN WALSEM, *Iconography,* 116, fig. 9.11

Kingdom faience figurines referred to as 'dwarfs' in Egyptological literature thoroughly deviate from the previous canons of representation in two major aspects:[131] 1) a change in the representations of bodily features; 2) the introduction of a variety of new postures and activities.[132]

The faience figurines (c. 94 examples) represent deformed men rather than dwarfs: most of them are bald, with elongated flat-topped heads; they have extremely prominent bellies, enough to be readily associated with pregnancy, although most figurines with protruding abdomens are depicted with exposed male genitalia (Fig. 14) or represented without female gender characteristics (e.g. breasts are not emphasised); they do not have disproportionate limbs (shorter legs and arms), although their exact length cannot be firmly evaluated given the squatting position assumed by these figurines; they have prominent – and often exaggerated – sexual attributes displaying (probably intentional) blurred boundaries between male and female; also the gender is not clear from their bodily iconography which shows a clear degree of ambiguity; they are often represented completely naked;[133] deformities – if present – are shown in an exaggerated way; finally, they are often shown performing actions related to outdoor or rural activities, like carrying calves (Fig. 15).[134] The definition "figurines grotesques" given by Maurice Dunand is probably more appropriate than 'dwarfs'.[135]

The closest iconographic parallel for the grotesque human figures included in the faience figurine corpus is represented by the low status men depicted in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs: herdsmen are shown with protruding abdomens, pathological deformities (such as scrotal enlargement), bald or with head completely shaved, with facial and body hair, and naked with fully exposed genitalia. In a tomb at Meir, a herdsman in the act of driving fattened cattle is represented with a wizened

Fig. 14 - Faience figurine of a 'dwarf'. British Museum, London, BM EA 22882 © Trustees of the British Museum. Photo Gianluca Miniaci

Fig. 15 - Faience figurine of a 'dwarf'. British Museum, London, BM EA 59397 © Trustees of the British Museum. Photo Gianluca Miniaci

[131] Véronique Dasen already noted how the grotesque features of faience models of 'dwarfs' actually contrasts the realism of the few ivory and wooden figurines, such as British Museum, London, BM 58409 and Liverpool Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, E.7081, DASEN, *Dwarfs*, 137, pls. 35.1a-b, 34.2.
[132] KÓTHAY, *BMH* 116-117, 15-6.
[133] For this see: KÓTHAY, *BMH* 116-117.
[134] KÓTHAY, *BMH* 116-117, 16-7.
[135] DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos*, *Texte*, nos. 15309–15360.

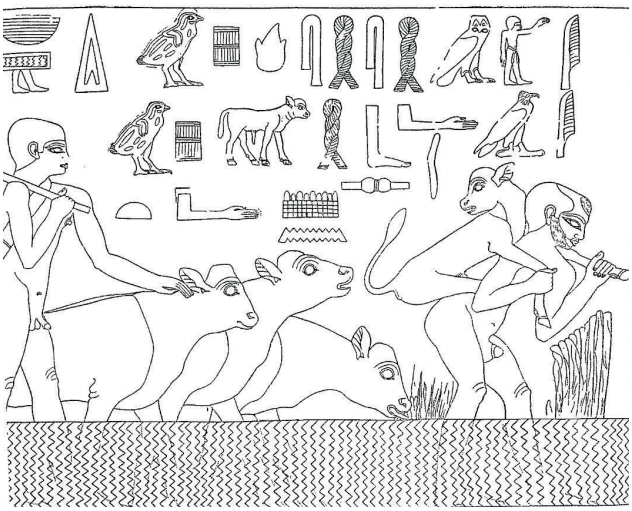


Fig. 16 - Cattle fording scene from the tomb of Ti, Saqqara. Published in: van Walsem, *Iconography*, 82, fig. 14

body, elderly-looking face and unkempt hair.[136] Herdsmen are usually associated with cattle and in particular are often represented carrying a calf on their shoulders (Fig. 16). The relevant outdoor occupations of the herdsman were carried out in those territories (pastures, marshes, riverbanks and waters) functioning as liminal zones between the ordered world and the realm of the chaos.[137] In these settings, herdsmen and farmers were likely to occasionally encounter and face dangerous creatures, threatening not only their lives but more importantly the life and survival of the sustenance products destined for the entire local population. In this task, herdsmen were often supported by guard dogs (another element well-represented in the corpus of faience figurines). Herdsmen and farmers represented the physical protectors of tame harmless creatures from the threats of the wild world. In particular, fording scenes were associated with apotropaic performances of herdsmen intended to ward off the threat to their cattle from wild animals when crossing water (symbolizing the concept of malignant forces to be defeated), and the same men were entrusted with the task of performing protection rituals to ward off such dangers. In one scene in the mastaba of Ti a herdsman shown leading a calf into the water in order to induce the remaining cattle to follow is accompanied by the recitation of a 'water spell':

> "*Crossing the canal by the cattle. Warding off death. Warding off the crocodile by the herdsman: 'O herdsman there! Let your face be watchful for this marsh-dweller who is in the water, to prevent these here (i.e. the cattle) falling victim to this marsh-dweller. May he come as a sightless one! Let your face be very watchful for him!*"[138]

In conclusion, the linking element in these scenes seems to be the contact zone between one natural yet chaotic realm full of dangerous animals, and another realm featuring the alluvial plain, where domestic creatures required protection. The river was flanked by the floodplain, where cultivated lands and human activities such as agriculture, manufacturing, food preparation and food storage took place. This area needed constant protection not only for the sake of the human population and domestic animals, but also for the crops and fields. The low-lying areas along the margins of the floodplain would often retain water year-round and create a marshy and swampy environment. This is the liminal area where dangerous animals from the desert, probably attracted to the water, ventured beyond into cultivated land where they brought disorder, death and destruction. It is clear why the ancient Egyptians felt compelled to take every measure, whether physical or magical, to protect this liminal zone.

Herdsman and the environment of the faience figurines: a broader setting

Tantalizingly, one written composition places the environment of the faience figurines into a broader setting. The so-called 'Tale of the Herdsman' is a fragmentary story preserved as a single copy in Papyrus Berlin 3024. The text of the tale has survived only by chance, since it is preserved on a papyrus sheet fortuitously glued to a different papyrus roll containing the 'Dialogue of a Man and his Soul' in order to strengthen its end. The text, preserved in only 25 short columns, was probably composed during the early Twelfth Dynasty.[139] Although the story remains controversial and raises several interpretative problems, three focal sections can be understood: *a.* a herdsman meeting with a fearful female being, possibly a goddess; the event happens in the marshes and the female being appears as a predatory creature whose skin is not smooth and has bristles (*i.e.* with fur); *b.* a discussion between the herdsman and his colleagues on the actions to be taken to protect the cattle and the calves they are herding;[140] *c.* the opening section of the recounting of a second meeting between the herdsman and the female creature, who now has a human form.

[136] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. II, pls. 6, 11.
[137] Altenmüller, *BSEG* 13, 9-21; Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 47, 11-9.
[138] Tomb of Ankhmahor: Ritner, *The Mechanics*, 227.
[139] Vernus, *Future at Issue*, 185; Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 300.
[140] Schneider, in Schneider, Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories*, 309.

*a. "Look, I had descended **to the marsh/swamp** which is **close by this low-lying land/pasture**. And I saw a **female** in it (the marsh) – she was **not of the appearances of human beings**! My hair stood on end as I could see her **bristles** – her appearance was **not smooth**.*

*b. Never will I do what she said, as dread of her is throughout my limbs! I (want to) say to you: So let us make the bulls go off course, then the **calves** will cross over so that the **herd** may spend the night in the area of the **paddock** (or: **pasture**). The **herdsmen are/ shall be behind them**. Our skiff is for leading the bulls away together with the guards placed on its stern. The ritualists among the herdsmen are reciting a water incantation by saying this spell of his (the water's) – so that my spirits will rejoice, herdsmen and men: 'There will be no driving me away from this marsh in a year of a high inundation that gives order to the ridges of the hills, so that a lake cannot be told from the river! Go on to the interior of your dwelling, while the guards are firm on their post. Just come! Fear of you has vanished, dread of you is gone away, until the rage of the Mighty Goddess passes and the fear of the Lady of the Two Lands.'*

*c. When it was getting light, **at dawn in the morning**, one acted on his instruction. And this **goddess** approached him – while he had turned the front (bow?) to the lake. She came, **stripped naked of her clothes** and was disordered, (namely) her hair."*[141]

The nature of the story is rather unclear as to its purpose – whether it is a kind of folkloristic/pastoral tale[142] or should be understood metaphorically as a religious text, viewing the female character as a Hathor-like deity.[143]

However, the main categories involved in the tale are:

1. a fearful female creature, probably of mutating aspect (animal and human);
2. herdsman/herdsmen (as protectors of domestic animals);
3. marshes and swamps (and their proximity to low-lying land/pasture);
4. domestic animals (cattle and calves).

Thomas Schneider has made an ingenious parallelism between this passage and two other texts: a composition known as 'The Journey of the Libyan Goddess' and a folk narrative from the Libyan-Berber region dating to the Islamic Period.

The original text of the tale 'The Journey of the Libyan Goddess', although preserved in a Twenty-second Dynasty papyrus from Thebes (pBerlin 3053) and on some re-used blocks from the temple at Elkab (Twenty-sixth Dynasty), most likely dates back to the second millennium BC. It refers to a ferocious Libyan goddess with a dual appearance either as a woman or a lioness, living on Egypt's western borders and going down to the marshes and meadows, where she meets her believers from the rural population who had come to pacify her. The text does not display the features of a theological composition and may instead be based on more popular beliefs.[144]

Fig. 17 - Faramarz killing the shah of demons (*ghouls*), from 'Shah Namah, the Persian Epic of the Kings' by Abu al-Qasim Firdawsi of Tus, Tenth Century. Photo © Welcome Collection, http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0035191.html <accessed 27.09.2017>

In ancient Islamic folklore, the ghoul, from the Arabic *ġūl*, is a desert demon believed to rob graves and devour men and animals, usually dwelling in burial grounds and other uninhabited places (Fig. 17). In some variants, the ghoul is also a desert-dwelling, shape-shifting demon that can assume the guise of a wild animal, especially

[141] Translated from: Schneider, in Schneider, Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories*, 311-6. The bold is made by the author.
[142] Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte*; Kákosy, *JEA* 68, 290-8.
[143] Schneider, in Schneider, Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories*, 315-6; Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 300, n. 8.
[144] Verhoeven, Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque*.

a feline.[145] The Libyan-Berber tradition has preserved a variant of this folk tale, identifying the ghoul with a similar female being called *tamza*.[146] She appears in the form of a big cat or lioness and also as a woman. Her physical features can include two heavy breasts that she bears on her shoulders, a body covered with fur, a mane, a black face with long teeth or tusks, hands with claws, and almost completely blind. She is considered a threat especially to travellers and herdsmen, as she feeds on human flesh and the animals of farmers and herdsmen (including calves). Her enemies are barking dogs and running (*i.e.* not stagnant) water. Also linguistically, in the Ghadames Libyan Berber dialect, the word *tamza* means 'big cat, lioness or hyena'.[147] The widespread geographic distribution of the *tamza* myth, from the western borders of Egypt to the Atlantic coast, seems to indicate that it was based on an old narrative tradition predating the Islamic conquest of North Africa which was later assimilated into the Islamic ghoul tradition.[148]

Both tales – the *tamza* belief and 'The Journey of the Libyan Goddess' – seem to echo the fragmentary 'Tale of the Herdsman', indicating that in pre-Islamic North Africa there was a particular folkloristic attention to the role played by the herdsman and the liminal zones represented by marshes and swamps. It is in such a folk substratum that faience figurines may have been engendered, as a response to the realities of the liminal zone between the marsh environment with its chaotic forces and the domestic fields inhabited by creatures needing protection from the herdsman, whose role included the defence of his zone from any faunal threat.

The social permeability of images

As we have seen, the isolation of zoological elements in the iconographic motifs displayed by faience figurines is non-random and follows a precise logical process of exclusion. Therefore, with certain exceptions, the world of faience figurines seems to distance itself from the royal and uppermost levels of society and their iconographic repertoire. The reasons for this may be rooted either in the inaccessibility of or indifference to certain motifs, which may be *a.* intentional or *b.* unplanned or unconscious.

a. Intentional: the interest or concern of a certain social segment does not overlap with those of other social segments; therefore, there is no willingness to acknowledge and/or to reproduce motifs not directly tied to its own social sphere.

b. Unplanned or unconscious: the exclusion of iconographic motifs might be dictated by the absence of knowledge; therefore, there is no possibility for reproducing motifs which are not known to certain social segments.

In fact, in respect of the choice of subject matter, the themes represented in the corpus of faience figurines seem to be drawn from the farming environment interacting with domestic and wild animals, while facing the daily dangers inherent with carrying out rural activities. The zoological species selected, the working class represented ('dwarfs' = herdsmen), and the action performed point to the direct experiences drawn from daily life, showing an intimate familiarity and knowledge of the farming world. Therefore, the world of faience figurines appears overridingly to belong to 'folk', 'personal', or 'popular' culture.[149]

Nonetheless, there are some severe obstacles that prevent us making a complete association with this type of object and the middle or lower segments of society.[150]

1. Distribution: faience figurine distribution was especially concentrated in a few key sites, particularly in the cemeteries around Itjtawy, Abydos and Thebes; therefore, their circulation and consumption is in some way linked with economic status, power, and religious centres.[151]

2. Manufacture: the motifs reproduced were rather limited and show a certain degree of similarity also among objects found in two distant sites (as Thebes and Byblos). Therefore, Middle Kingdom faience figurines were not the instinctive product of a craftsman or a worker, but their production was carried out by specialised or overly skilled artisans, and was most probably intellectually controlled by a narrow segment of society.[152]

3. Contact points with the wealthy: The low percentage of faience figurines appearing in the same context as ivory birth tusks nevertheless reveals a point of contact with a category of objects tied to the uppermost levels of society. In addition, faience figurines are occasionally found in tombs with burial equipment known as 'court-type burials'.[153] These tombs contain objects intended to identify the deceased with Osiris and are connected

[145] Lewis, Pellat, Schacht (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. II, 1078-9; Padwick, *BSOAS* 3, 421-46.
[146] Camps, *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 3024-5.
[147] Laoust, *Hespéris* 34, 253-65.
[148] In Berber lands, local belief in ogres and other fabulous creatures tend to be Islamised, Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II; Laoust, *Hespéris* 34, 253-65; Laoust, *Contes Berbères du Maroc*, vol. II, 125–6.
[149] *Cf.* Bussmann, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*.
[150] *Cf.* Mazé, *BIFAO* 116.
[151] Miniaci, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes*.
[152] Miniaci, in Miniaci *et al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt*.
[153] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, 147-54.

with the higher or wealthier levels of society. Also the very few examples of hybrid creatures in the corpus of faience figurines may be taken or borrowed from the iconography connected in earlier periods with the royal and uppermost classes, specifically the lion-maned/-eared human figure (Aha/Bes) and the lion-hippopotamus (Ipy/Taweret). Therefore, the category of faience figurines shows contact points with the wealthy and the contexts of power.

4. Absence from daily life practice: Faience figurines are virtually absent from domestic and settlement environments. This may be due to the rarity of preserved Middle Kingdom domestic contexts in the archaeological record. Lahun may be one of the few exceptions in Egypt. However, there, William Matthew Flinders Petrie described only a couple of faience figurines as coming from the settlement; the remainder are only summarily recorded in the published report without any precise location given;[154] therefore it is not certain if they were discovered in the settlement or in the town/pyramid cemeteries. However, the number of faience figurines recorded from Lahun is rather low (16 attestations),[155] above all in comparison with the number of mud figurines found at the site by Flinders Petrie (Fig. 18). In addition, in other settlements of the Middle Kingdom, such as at Buhen, a large number of mud figurines were found,[156] but faience figurines seem to be absent.[157]

5. Prestige: A large number of faience figurines (294) were found inside a votive deposit in the antechamber of the sanctuary of the Temple of Obelisks at Byblos. The location indicates that these objects held either a strong symbolic or a definite economic value (or both). Based on comparative analysis, it seems that the figurines found at Byblos were imported/brought from Egypt rather than manufactured locally;[158] therefore, they may be connected with the commercial journeys undertaken by the leading economic social classes of Egypt. In conclusion, the figurines may have been considered prestigious items.

The constant danger in archaeological interpretation of societal aspects is to create mono-dimensional blocks which do not interact with others. A clear-cut distinction between segments of society – however we try to partition them: royal, uppermost, upper, mid, lower, lowermost, rich, wealthy, poor, underprivileged etc. – may not have been as clearly defined in past societies as

Fig. 18 - Mud hippopotamus from Lahun. Photo © Gianluca Miniaci, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL

our theoretical models might lead us to believe. Different social segments interact together, exchange ideas, share needs, and exist together; rarely are the borders of social classes clearly demarcated, and social mobility – to a varying extent – constantly reshapes society. It has been shown through a comparative analysis of items of burial equipment and the titles borne by the deceased that in ancient Egypt, besides the administrative and ruling classes, there was also room for a social level occupied by the wealthy, which accumulated resources but was not directly connected with the ideology of power.[159] The case of faience figurines in the Middle Kingdom perfectly exemplifies the permeability between the uppermost levels of society and a more 'popular' culture, whose concerns were more focused upon domestic and rural environments. Points 1–5 make it difficult to imagine faience figurines as the self-portraying products of the lower levels of society, such as farmers and herdsmen. Nonetheless, the motifs do not fully mirror those expressed by the high segments of society or embody the ideal concerns of the wealthy class. However, it should be borne in mind that the rural environment was not entirely exogenous to the wealthy and to the power. One of the fundamental elements for the sustenance of ancient Egyptian society relied to a very high degree on the roles played by farmers and herdsmen, who were directly involved in food production; the upper levels of society were directly affected by the surrounding natural environment.[160] For instance, if a group of hippopotami devastated entire fields of crops, the effect would be felt not only by the farmers and the

[154] Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 31, pl. 8.
[155] Miniaci, in Jiménez Serrano, Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and its Echoes.*
[156] Also at Lahun a high number of mud figurines have been documented, Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*.
[157] Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*; Emery, Smith, Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen*, pls. 52-4.
[158] Miniaci, *Ä&L* 28.
[159] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom*, 149-51; Richards, in Lustig (ed.), *Anthropology and Egyptology*, 33-42.
[160] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom*, 144.

lower level of population but also by the higher classes.

The corpus of faience figurines can be seen as an example of the influence that concepts/culture unfettered from the ideology of power had on iconography, and one that served also as a conduit for social relationships (exchanges, teaching, negotiations, and rituals).[161] As has been seen above, one of the central themes revolves around the marsh environment as a liminal zone between the desert and the flood plain, and centred on the figure of the herdsman as one able to exert control over these environments. Other features of these faience figurines extend beyond the distinct natural settings with the probable intention of assembling both the dangerous and pacific attitudes of natural forces embodied by animals, *i.e.* defence and attack, fear and protection, adult and youthful innocence. Thus the production of faience figurines appears to have been an attempt to straddle different worlds, which were – more often than we think – in contact.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Peter Jánosi, Lubica Hudáková, Claus Jurman, Uta Siffert for organising such an inspiring study day and for their kind invitation. I am very grateful to Stephen Quirke and Wolfram Grajetzki for their continuous suggestions and Paul Whelan for reading my text. I would like to thank Naguib Kanawati for his kind permission to reproduce an image from his work.

Bibliography

Alliot, M., "Les Rites de la Chasse au Filet, aux Temples de Karnak, d'Edfou et d'Esneh", *RdE* 5 (1946), 57-118.

Altenmüller, H., *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens: Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten 'Zaubermesser' des Mittleren Reichs*, 2 vols. (PhD dissertation: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1965).

Altenmüller, H., "Jagd", in *LÄ*, vol. III (Mainz, 1980), 221-4.

Altenmüller, H., "Nilpferd und Papyrusdickicht in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches", *BSEG* 13 (1989), 9-21.

Altenmüller, H., "Papyrusdickicht und Wüste: Überlegungen zu zwei Statuenensembles des Tutanchamun", *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 11-9.

Arnold, Do., "An Egyptian Bestiary", *BMMA, NS* 52/4 (1994–1995), 7-64.

Arnold, F., "Settlement Remains at Lisht-North", in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten / House and Palace in Ancient Egypt* (Wien: UZK 14; DGÖAW 14, 1996), 13-21.

Assmann, J., "The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space", in N. Strudwick, J.H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), 46-52.

Bailey, D.W., *Prehistoric Figurines. Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic* (London, New York, 2005).

Bailey, D.W., "Figurines, Corporeality, and the Origins of the Gendered Body", in D. Bolger (ed.), *A Companion to Gender Prehistory* (Chichester, 2013), 244-64.

Behrmann, A., *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, vol. I: *Katalog*, vol. II: *Textband* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Hochschulschriften 38/62, 1996).

Blackman, A.M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. II (London: ASE 23, 1915).

Borchardt, L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-Re*, vol. II (Leipzig: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902–1908; Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 26, 1913).

Borghouts, J.B., "The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348", *OMRO* 51 (1971), 1-248.

Bourriau, J., *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom: Exhibition organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 19 April to 26 June, Liverpool, 18 July to 4 September 1988* (Cambridge, 1988).

Bourriau, J., "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 3-20.

Brunner, H., *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur*, fourth revised and extended edition (Darmstadt: Grundzüge 8, 1986).

Brunton, G., *Matmar* (London, 1948).

Bussmann, R., *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie* (Leiden: PdÄ 30, 2010).

Bussmann, R., "Local Traditions in Early Egyptian Temples", in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference 'Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt', London, 27th July–1st August 2008* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 205, 2011), 747-62.

Bussmann, R., "Personal Piety: An Archaeological Response", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHS Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 71-91.

[161] Meskell, *World Archaeology* 47/1, 15.

Camps, G., *Encyclopédie Berbère*, vol. XX, Gauda-Girrei (Aix-en-Provence, 1998).

Carnarvon, The Earl of, H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907–1911* (London, 1912).

Ceruti, S., "The hippopotamus Goddess Carrying a Crocodile on Her Back: An Iconographical Motif Distinctive of the Late Middle Kingdom", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 93-123.

Chauveau, M., "Glorification d'une Morte Anonyme (P. dém. Louvre N2420c)", *RdE* 41 (1990), 3-8.

Ciałowicz, K. M. "Fantastic Creatures and Cobras from Tell el-Farkha", *SAAC* 15 (2011), 11-27.

Dasen, V., *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993).

Delange, E., S. Nisole, "Lisibilité d'une Restauration à Propos des Hippopotames Bleus", in *Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire. Visibilité de la Restauration, Lisibilité de l'Œuvre, Paris, 13–14 et 15 juin 2002: Actes du 5ème Colloque International sur la Conservation Restauration des Biens Culturels* (Paris, 2002), 143-50.

Downes, D., *The Excavations at Esna, 1905–1906* (Warminster, 1974).

Dunand, M., *Fouilles de Byblos*, vol. II: *1933–1938: Atlas* (Paris, 1950).

Dunand, M., *Fouilles de Byblos*, vol. II: *1933–1938: Texte* (Paris, 1958).

Emery, W.B., H.S. Smith, A. Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report* (London: EES, Excavation Memoir 49, 1979).

Eschenbrenner-Diemer, G., "From the Workshop to the Grave: The Case of Wooden Funerary Models", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 133-91.

Estes, R., *The Behavior Guide to African Mammals: Including Hoofed Mammals, Carnivores, Primates* (Los Angeles, 1992).

Fischer, H.G., "The Ancient Egyptian Attitude Towards the Monstrous", in A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper, E.B. Harrison (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), 13-26.

Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890).

Flinders Petrie, W.M., G. Wainwright, E. MacKay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London: BSAE 21, 1912).

Foxall, L., "Introduction: Miniaturization", *World Archaeology* 47/1 (2015), 1-5.

Grajetzki, W., *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society* (London, 2006).

Grajetzki, W., *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom: The Archaeology of Female Burials* (Philadelphia, 2014).

Hamilton, N., "Can We Interpret Figurines?", *CAJ* 6/2 (1996), 281-307.

Hendrickx, S., "Two Protodynastic objects in Brussels and the Origin of the Bilobate cult-sign of Neith", *JEA* 82 (1996), 23-42.

Janes, G., *Shabtis: A Private View. Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections* (Paris, 2002).

Janssen, J.J., R.M. Janssen, *Growing up in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1990).

Kákosy, L., "The Nile, Euthenia, and the Nymphs", *JEA* 68 (1982), 290-8.

Kamrin, J., *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (London, New York: SIE, 1999).

Kanawati, N., L. Evans, *Beni Hassan I,* vol. I: *The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford: ACER 36, 2014).

Keimer, L., "Les Limites de l'Observation Naturaliste Dans Quelques Représentations Animales de l'Egypte Antique, Première Partie", *Université Ibrahim. Annales de la Faculté des Lettres* 2 (1953), 121-34.

Kemp, B.J., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, second revised edition (London, 2006).

Kemp, B.J., R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz am Rhein: SDAIK 7, 1980).

Kendall, C.J., "The Spatial and Agricultural Basis of Crop Raiding by the Vulnerable Common Hippopotamus *Hippopotamus amphibius* around Ruaha National Park, Tanzania", *Oryx* 45/1 (2011), 28-34.

Kóthay, K.A., "A Dwarfish Figure Carrying a Dog: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Bodies and the Migration of Iconographic Themes and Motifs in Egyptian Art", *BMH* 116-117 (2012), 9-32.

Lacovara, P., "The Internal Chronology of Kerma", *BzS* 2 (1987), 51-74.

Laoust, É., "Des Noms Berbères de l'Ogre et de l'Ogresse", *Hespéris* 34 (1947), 253-65.

Laoust, É., *Contes Berbères du Maroc*, vol. II (Paris, 1949–1950).

Lewis, B., Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht (eds.), *The*

Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. II: *C-G* (Leiden, Boston, 1991).

Loeben, Ch., "Thouéris et Bès: Déesse Démoniaque et Démon Divin?", in A. Quertinmont (ed.), *Dieux, Génies et Démons en Égypte Ancienne: À la Rencontre d'Osiris, Anubis, Isis, Hathor, Rê et les Autres* (Paris, 2016), 47-53.

Martínez Babón, J., "Objets Découverts dans des Tombes Thébaines Situées sous le Temple de Millions d'Années de Thoutmosis III à l'Ouest de Louxor", in G. Rosati, M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23–30 August 2015* (Oxford, 2017), 384-8.

Mazé, C., "À la Recherche des « Classes Moyennes ». Les Espaces de la Différenciation Sociale dans l'Égype du III^{e} Millénaire av. J.-C.", *BIFAO* 116 (2016), 123-75.

Meeks, D., "Fantastic Animals", in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I (Oxford, 2001), 504-7.

Meskell, L., "A Society of Things: Animal Figurines and Material Scales at Neolithic Çatalhöyük", *World Archaeology* 47/1 (2015), 6-19.

Miniaci, G., *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* (London: GHP Egyptology 17, 2011).

Miniaci, G., "The Collapse of Faience Figurine Production at the End of the Middle Kingdom: Reading the History of an Epoch between Postmodernism and Grand Narrative", *JEgH* 7/1 (2014), 109-42.

Miniaci, G., "Unbroken Stories: Middle Kingdom Faience Figurines in Their Archaeological Context", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 235-84.

Miniaci, G., "Burial Equipment of *Rishi* Coffins and the Osmosis of the 'Rebirth Machine' at the End of the Middle Kingdom", in J.H. Taylor, M. Vandenbeusch (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality: Proceedings of the Annual Egyptology Colloquium at the British Museum, 28 July–29 July 2014* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: BMPES 4, 2018), 247-73.

Miniaci, G., "Faience Craftsmanship in the Middle Kingdom. A Market Paradox: Inexpensive Materials for Prestige Goods", in G. Miniaci, J.-C. Moreno García, S. Quirke, A. Stauder (eds.), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000–1550BC* (Leiden, 2018), 139-58.

Miniaci, G., "Multiple burials in ancient societies: theory and methods from Egyptian archaeology", *CAJ* (2018), http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S095977431800046X.

Miniaci, G., "Deposit f (Nos. 15121–15567) in the Obelisk Temple at Byblos: Artefact Mobility in the Middle Bronze Age I–II (1850–1650 BC) between Egypt and the Levant", *Ä&L* 28 (2018).

Miniaci, G., "Burial Demography in the Late Middle Kingdom: A Social Perspective", in R. Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture* (Cambridge, 2019, in press).

Miniaci, G., *Miniature Forms as Transformative Thresholds: Faience Figurines in Middle Bronze Age Egypt (1800 BC–1650 BC)* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: BMPES 7, 2019, in press).

Miniaci, G., "The Craft of the Non-mechanically Reproducible: Targeting Centres of Faience Figurine Production in 1800–1650 BC Egypt", in J.A. Jiménez Serrano, A.J. Morales (eds.), *Palace Culture and Its Echoes in the Provinces in the Middle Kingdom of Egypt. Jaén, 2nd and 3rd June 2016* (Boston, 2019, in press).

Miniaci, G., "The Late Middle Kingdom Burial Assemblage from the Tomb G62 at Abydos (BM EA 37286-37320)", in I. Regulski (ed.), *Abydos: The Sacred Land at the Western Horizon: Proceedings of the Annual Egyptology Colloquium at the British Museum, 9–10 July 2015* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: BMPES 5, in press).

Miniaci, G., "Early Dynastic Votive Offerings and Their Influence over the Middle Kingdom: An Unusual Group of Human Figures form Harageh Tomb 112" (in preparation).

Miniaci, G., S. Quirke, "Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga", *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 339-83.

Morris, E.F., "Paddle Dolls and Performance", *JARCE* 47 (2011), 71-103.

Morris, E.F., "Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic, and the Reinvention of Ritual", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 285-335.

Nagy, I., "La Statue de Thouéris au Caire (CG 39145) et la Légende de la Déesse Lointaine", in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* (Budapest, 1992), 449-56.

O'Connor, T., "Making Themselves at Home: The Archaeology of Commensal Vertebrates", in D. Campana, P. Crabtree, S.D. deFrance, J. Lev-Tov, A.M. Choyke (eds.), *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology: Colonialism, Complexity and Animal Transformations* (Oxford, Oakville, 2010), 270-74.

Odler, M., V. Dulíková, "Social Context of the Old Kingdom Copper Model Tools", *World Archaeology* 47/1 (2015), 94-116.

Padwick, C.E., "Notes on the Jinn and the Ghoul in the Peasant Mind of Lower Egypt", *BSOAS* 3 (1923-5), 421-46.

Parkinson, R.B. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London, New York, 2002).

Patch, D.C. (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, New Haven, CT, London, 2011).

Patch, D.C., "The Human Figure", in D.C. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, New Haven, CT, London, 2011), 97-135.

Patch, D.C., "Early Dynastic Art", in D.C. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, New Haven, CT, London, 2011), 136-79.

Patch, D.C., "Wildcat Stalking", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 209-10 (cat. no. 147).

Pinch, G., *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993).

Pinch, G., *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994).

Quack, J.F., "The Animals of the Desert and the Return of the Goddess", in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne, December 14–15, 2007* (Cologne, 2009), 341-61.

Quibell, J.E., *The Ramesseum / The tomb of Ptah-Hetep* (London: BSAE 2, 1898).

Quirke, S., "Figures of Clay: Toys or Ritual Objects", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies* (Reigate, 1998), 141-51.

Quirke, S., *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context – Egypt 1800 BC. Including Publication of Petrie Museum Examples Photographed by Gianluca Miniaci, and Drawn from the Photographs by Andrew Boyce* (London: MKS 3, 2016).

Randall MacIver, D., A. Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901* (London, 1902).

Reisner, G.A., *Excavations at Kerma*, parts IV-V (Cambridge: Harvard African Studies 6, 1923).

Richards, J.E., "Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Practice and the Study of Socioeconomic Differentiation", in J. Lustig (ed.), *Anthropology and Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue* (Sheffield, 1997), 33-42.

Ritner, R.K., *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: SAOC 54, 1993).

Romano, J.F., "The Origin of the Bes-Image", *BES* 2 (1980), 39-56.

Roth, A.M., "Objects, Animals, Humans, and Hybrids: The Evolution of Early Egyptian Representations of the Divine", in D.C. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, New Haven, CT, London, 2011), 194-201.

Rupp, A., "Der Zwerg in der ägyptischen Gemeinschaft: Studien zur ägyptischen Anthropologie", *CdE* 40 (1965), 260-309.

Sabbahy, L., "The Middle Bronze Age Egyptian griffon: whence and whither?", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 395-420.

Säve-Söderbergh, T., *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive* (Uppsala: Horae Soederblomianae 3, 1953).

Schneider, H.D., *Life and Death under the Pharaohs* (Perth, 1997).

Schneider, T., "Contextualising the Tale of the Herdsman", in T. Schneider, K. Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Münster, 2007), 309-18.

Serjeantson, D., "Good to Eat *and* Good to Think with: Classifying Animals from Complex Sites", in P. Rowley-Conwy (ed.), *Animal Bones, Human Societies* (Oxford, 2000), 179-89.

Stevens, A., *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence* (Oxford: BAR IS 1587, 2006).

Stevens, A., "Private Religion in the Amarna Suburbs", in F. Seyfried (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna: 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery* (Petersberg, 2012), 92-7.

Stevenson, A., "Predynastic Egyptian Figurines", in T. Insoll (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Figurines* (Oxford, New York, 2015), 63-83.

Theis, C., *Magie und Raum: Der magische Schutz ausgewählter Räume im alten Ägypten nebst einem Vergleich zu angrenzenden Kulturbereichen* (Tübingen: Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 13, 2014).

Tooley, A.M.J., *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material* (PhD dissertation: University of Liverpool, 1989).

Tooley, A.M.J., "Child's Toy or Ritual Object?", *GM*

123 (1991), 101-11.

Tooley, A.M.J., "Notes on Type 1 Truncated Figurines: the Ramesseum Ladies", in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò, S. Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC): Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London* (Leuven, Paris, New Malden: OLA 262, 2017), 421-56.

Tristant, Y., "Two Early Middle Kingdom Hippopotamus Figurines from Dendera", in C. Di Biase-Dyson, L. Donocan (eds.), *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience: Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga* (Münster: ÄAT 85, 2017), 53-69.

Ucko, P.J., *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Papers 24, 1968).

Verhoeven, U., P. Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque: Ein Text aus dem "Mutritual" des Pap. Berlin 3053* (Brussels: RitesEg 5, 1985).

Verner, M., "A Statue of Tawēret (Cairo Museum no. 39145) Dedicated by Pabēsi and Several Remarks on the Role of the Hippopotamus Goddess", *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 52-63.

Vernus, P., *Future at Issue: Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (New Haven: YES 4, 1990).

Vernus, P., J. Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des Pharaons* (Paris, 2005).

Volokhine, Y., "Dieux, Masques et Hommes: à Propos de la Formation de l'Iconographie de Bès", *BSEG* 18 (1994), 81-95.

van Walsem, R., *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs: Analysis & Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (Leuven, 2005).

Waraksa, E.A., "Female Figurines (Pharaonic Period)", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), 1-6, http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000s3mm6 <accessed 12.04.2018>.

Wegner, J., "A Decorated Birth-brick from South Abydos: New Evidence on Childbirth and Birth Magic in the Middle Kingdom", in D.P. Silverman, W.K. Simpson, J. Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, CT, Philadelphia, PA, 2009), 447-96.

Weingarten, J., *The Transformation of Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius: A Study in Cultural Transmission in the Middle Bronze Age* (Partille: SMA 88, 1991).

Wengrow, D., "Cognition, Materiality and Monsters: The Cultural Transmission of Counterintuitive Forms in Bronze Age Societies", *JMC* 16/2 (2011), 131-49.

Wengrow, D., *The Origins of Monsters: Image and Cognition in the First Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Princeton, Woodstock: Rostovtzeff Lectures, 2014).

Westermarck, E., *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II (Cleveland, 1968).

Yamamoto, K., "Comprehending Life: Community, Environment, and the Supernatural", in A. Oppenheim, Di. Arnold, Do. Arnold, K. Yamamoto (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 2015), 188-91.

Hudáková, Jánosi, Jurman, Siffert (eds.),
Art-facts and Artefacts, MKS 8, London 2018, 85-99

Individual and *Zeitgeist*
Textual and Iconographic Selections in the Chapel of Harhotep (CG 28023)

Antonio J. Morales and Mohamed Osman*

Abstract
The painted walls of the chamber and sarcophagus of Harhotep (CG 28023, originally in the courtyard of TT 314 at Deir el-Bahari) represent one of the most elegant and colourful instances of mortuary decoration of the Middle Kingdom, certainly when compared to the artistic quality and religious significance of Senwosretankh at Lisht, Siese at Dahshur, and Meru at Thebes. The context and architecture of the mortuary chamber – with its entrance in the courtyard of TT 314 – follows previous patterns observed in late Eleventh Dynasty tombs, although some innovative changes can be observed as well.

Introduction

The rock-cut tomb TT 314 has been traditionally associated with the 'royal seal bearer' Harhotep,[1] although it is unknown if the two inner chambers of this tomb ever belonged to this official. Following previous indications by Gaston Maspero and Herbert E. Winlock, it seems clear that the position of this tomb was outside the rock-cut monument known as TT 314, which might have belonged to another high official of the period. The walls of Harhotep's burial chamber are painted with representations of false doors, bags of pigments and vases containing sacred oils, funerary offerings, and ritual objects for the afterlife. The inscriptions include Pyramid and Coffin Texts, two of the major funerary compositions before the New Kingdom. The architecture, paintings, and hieroglyphs of the chamber and its sarcophagus reveal that the royal seal bearer Harhotep probably lived in the reign of Senwosret I.[2] The selection of the particular group of texts and the complex programme of decoration in the chamber and sarcophagus should be understood not only as the result of traditional forms of religious expression but also of the impact of historical and social circumstances on the tomb owner's preferences. No doubt, the combination of architectonic forms, decorative elements, and old texts (of royal tone) in this monument denotes an innovative attempt to connect chapel, sarcophagus and body for the benefit of the deceased's identity in life and in the netherworld.

Documenting epigraphic and iconographic features

Due to the delicate condition of the decoration and texts in Harhotep's chapel, with fragile paintings, it was imperative to adopt a non-destructive method for its documentation that minimized the direct contact with the chamber walls and sarcophagus sides. The use of the most updated photogrammetry techniques allowed the reconstruction of rectified high-resolution images of the chamber walls and sarcophagus sides. Around 4000 photographs recorded the details of the burial chamber and sarcophagus.[3] Later, in order to build up a series of 3D models containing the details of the painted surfaces, the high-resolution photographs were processed through Agisoft photoscan software. Part of the process required the addition of measurements and the rectification of the generated surfaces.

Eventually, high-resolution images were produced, enhanced with Adobe Photoshop and colour corrected. Such a procedure was useful as it allowed us to sharpen and enhance the fainter parts of the decoration and text fields. Once this procedure was completed,

* University of Alcalá and Freie Universität Berlin.

[1] PM I/1, 389. Further details about TT 314 in: Soliman, *Old and Middle Kingdom*, 128-31.

[2] In opposition to some points of view that disagree in this respect, which are discussed below.

[3] The hidden sections of the chamber walls, those just in front of the short sides of the sarcophagus, have yet to be photographed and reconstructed, however.

the decoration and texts of Harhotep's chapel and sarcophagus were ready to be digitally illustrated. Needless to say, extended photography and further modelling will be required in following seasons to prepare a final reconstruction of the monument to be displayed in the Egyptian Museum Cairo. In addition, work with the sections and plans prepared by Winlock in the tomb at Deir el-Bahari (TT 314 = MMA 513) have been digitized and reproduced to scale.

Architectural reconstruction

The tomb of Harhotep was discovered by Maspero in February 1883 at the northern escarpment of Deir el-Bahari's vast amphitheatre. As Maspero himself noted, "a steep passage roughly hewn out of the rock led down a descent of nearly 30 meters to a sort of vestibule, from which through an opening on the right it fell abruptly into the chamber where the little edifice now in the museum was erected."[4] He proceeded to describe the fragile nature of the bedrock in the area,[5] which was the reason that ancient Egyptians – in his opinion – cased the walls of Harhotep's burial chamber with fine limestone in order to be able to apply a fine decoration and textual programme.[6] The burial chamber along with its sarcophagus were first moved to the Bulak Museum, and eventually to the Egyptian Museum Cairo, where they were put on display in the Middle Kingdom gallery. Nevertheless, Maspero never mentioned the exact location where this burial chamber was found. The tomb was re-excavated in 1922 by Winlock, who numbered it MMA 513A.[7] Recently, the architecture has been re-examined by Patryk Chudzik and Mariusz Caban.[8]

One of the aims for the latest examination[9] of Harhotep's chamber in the Egyptian Museum Cairo was to examine in more detail the architectural details in order to establish its original positioning at Deir el-Bahari. As observed in the recent plan produced by the Polish Mission in 2014 (Fig. 1), the tomb consisted of a courtyard ascending towards a façade, which used to be completely cased with mudbrick structures. The main entrance to the tomb is located in the middle of the façade, which hosts two niches either side of the entrance. A corridor leads from the vaulted entrance to a rectangular cultic chamber (A), where another smaller corridor opens in the western side and leads to another rectangular chamber (B). This chamber has a sloping passage in its floor leading to a rectangular room (C), which might be a burial chamber. Another descending passage in the floor of the first cultic chamber (A) runs towards the north, leading to another rectangular chamber (D), and then continues descending to reach a rectangular burial chamber (E).[10]

Although Maspero never mentioned the exact location of this burial chamber, during his examination of the tomb in the 1920s, Winlock produced a draft plan of the courtyard of the tomb, in addition to several sections (Figs. 2a-b).[11] In the section close to the façade, the plan shows three subterranean structures that were discussed neither in Maspero's notes nor in the most recent architectural plans by Chudzik and Caban. These structures are three shafts with associated chambers, each of different size (A, B, and C). The largest – and most significant structure for this study – is the eastern structure. According to Winlock's drawings, it mainly consists of a steep sloping passage which begins somewhere in the eastern half of the courtyard, around 15 m south from the façade. The sloping passage extends into the bedrock beneath the level of the façade towards the north-east for ca. 18.5 m before it turns to the east for another 5 m, finally reaching a rectangular burial chamber. Another significant remark by Winlock is that the entrance into the chamber was on its west side.

According to the scale, the burial chamber is ca. 4 m long, 3.7 m wide, and almost 3 m high at the back. Another draft by Winlock records a detailed plan of the burial chamber and its section (Fig. 3). It shows that paving slabs covered the floor of the chamber, along with a rectangular pit in the middle of it, likewise cased with stone slabs, and probably used for Harhotep's canopic box. In our opinion, a significant feature in this plan are the hatched lines indicating shallow recesses, which marked the location and orientation of Harhotep's sarcophagus and the wall casings on the paved floor before Maspero dismantled the chamber. It is most likely that these marking lines were carved in the pavement in order to fix the limestone casing and sarcophagus, the latter which interestingly never had a stone slab for its own bottom. Instead, the paved floor of the burial chamber acted as the 'bottom' for the sarcophagus. This idea is consistent with the fact

[4] Maspero, *Guide*, 101. See also his description in: Maspero, *MMAF* 1, 134.

[5] This statement can be confirmed through the geological examination of the tomb's area: Aubry *et al*., *Terra Nova* 21/4, 237-55.

[6] Maspero, *Guide*, 101-2.

[7] Winlock, *Mentuhotep*, 159-60, and photo M3C 182, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[8] Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, 221-9.

[9] December 2015.

[10] Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, 222-7, fig. 3.

[11] These drafts are kept in the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

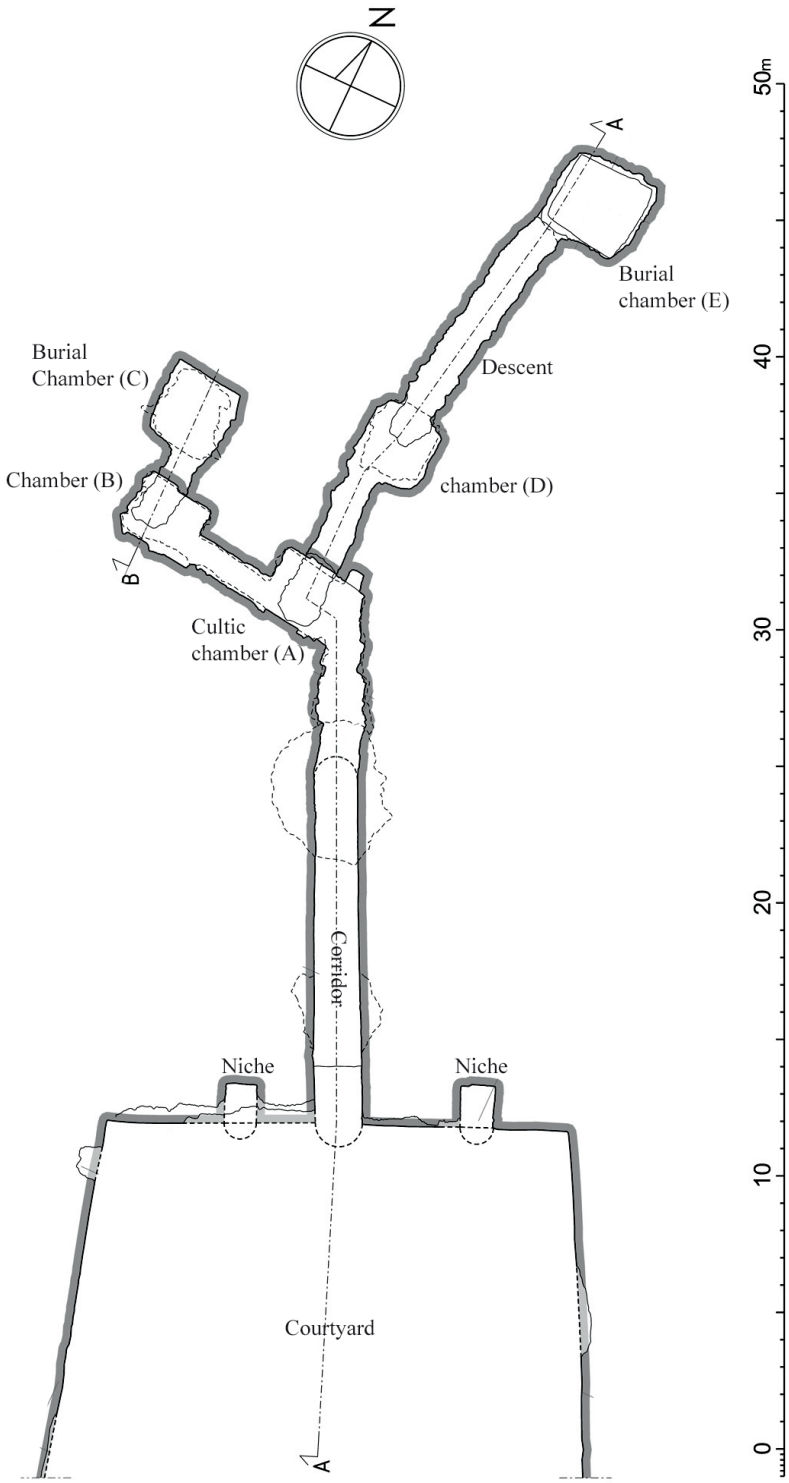
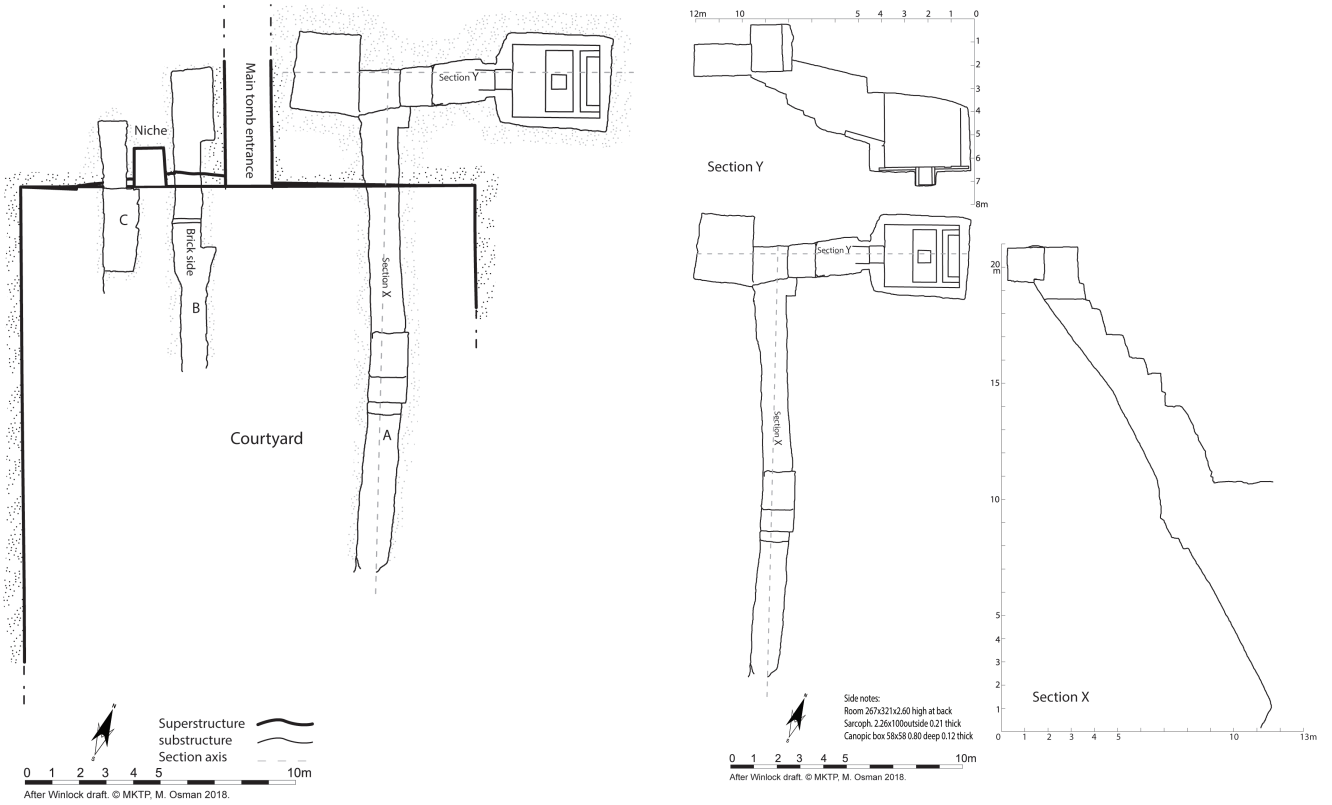


Fig. 1 - Plan of the mortuary complex TT 314 (upper sector of courtyard and section). Polish Mission at Deir el-Bahari – Asasif Project (published in: Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, fig. 3)



Figs. 2a-b - Plan of the mortuary complex TT 314 and sectional views of Harhotep's tomb. Adapted from Herbert E. Winlock's drafts kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Egyptian Art. © Middle Kingdom Theban Project, M. Osman, 2018

that Maspero only moved the wall casing stones and the sarcophagus, leaving the paved floor behind, and the observation in the Egyptian Museum Cairo that the sarcophagus itself does not have a bottom slab. Along with the existence of a rectangular pit right under the sarcophagus, Pierre Lacau mentioned in the *Catalogue général*[12] that Harhotep's sarcophagus was built out of three courses of fine limestone including the 'corniche'. These particulars are compatible with the fact that the sarcophagus never had its own bottom. In addition, Maspero mentioned finding inside the chamber some fragments that might have belonged to a wooden coffin, along with several other wooden fragments of statues and boat models.[13]

The size of the chamber transferred to the Egyptian Museum Cairo is relatively small: 3.23 m long, 2.68 m wide, and 2.51 m high, with the sarcophagus (2.56 m long, 1.27 m wide, including the upper-section or cornice, and 1.9 m high) in the center of the room. Obviously, the dimensions of the chamber cut into the bedrock and recorded by Winlock are larger than those of the limestone casing walls now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, but the position of these blocks can be identified in Winlock's plan as sunken lines in the paved floor. Therefore, comparison between the plan drawn by Winlock and the earlier plan of Maspero yields three discrepancies:

1. According to Maspero's plan, the sarcophagus was situated right in the middle of the chamber (Fig. 4). However, following Winlock's plan (Fig. 3), the recessed lines marking the position for the sarcophagus and casing blocks show that the location of the sarcophagus was not in the middle of the chamber but towards the eastern wall of the chamber.
2. Winlock's plan shows another group of recess lines on the eastern half of the chamber, apparently for an unknown structure. The recess appears as a rectangular shape against the rear wall of the chamber, behind the sarcophagus (Fig. 3).[14]

[12] Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 56, fig. 1.
[13] Maspero, *Guide*, 103, 105.

[14] This additional rectangular recess, which left some traces on the floor behind the sarcophagus, supports the idea that another feature was also placed in this side of the chamber, although it is very speculative to offer a definitive answer about its nature (offering table, stone case, or another sarcophagus?). The possibility that the traces represent the original positioning of the sarcophagus against the wall should also be taken into consideration. It seems obvious, however, that the upper edge of this unknown feature would not be higher than the lower

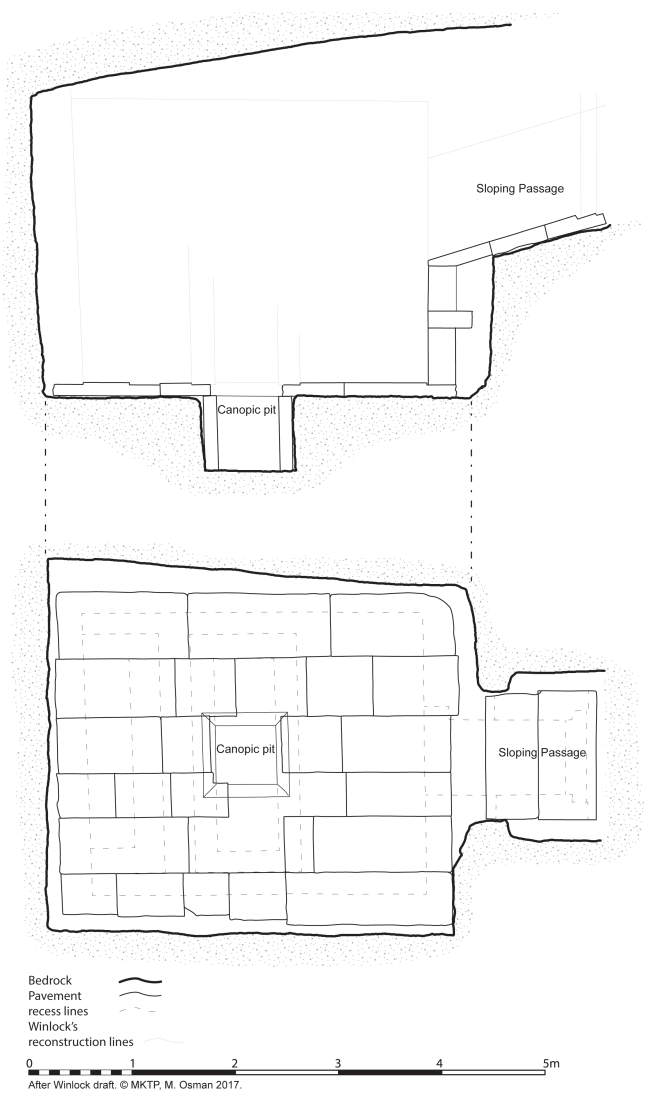


Fig. 3 - Plan and sectional view of the mortuary chamber of Harhotep. Adapted from Herbert E. Winlock's drafts kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Egyptian Art. © Middle Kingdom Theban Project, M. Osman, 2017

3. Maspero never mentioned the rectangular cased pit in the middle of the chamber's floor, supposedly right under the sarcophagus. This factor leaves some room to assume that he might have never cleaned the floor entirely. The fact that Winlock was able to retrieve some wooden fragments from the burial chamber seems to confirm this suspicion.[15]

In consideration of the previous evidence, it seems indisputable that the entrance to Harhotep's mortuary chamber is to be found outside the rock-cut tomb TT 314, more specifically in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard, approximately 15 m to the south

limits of the wall decoration.

[15] Winlock, *Mentuhotep*, 159: for instance the Egyptian Museum Cairo TR 6/7–22/1.

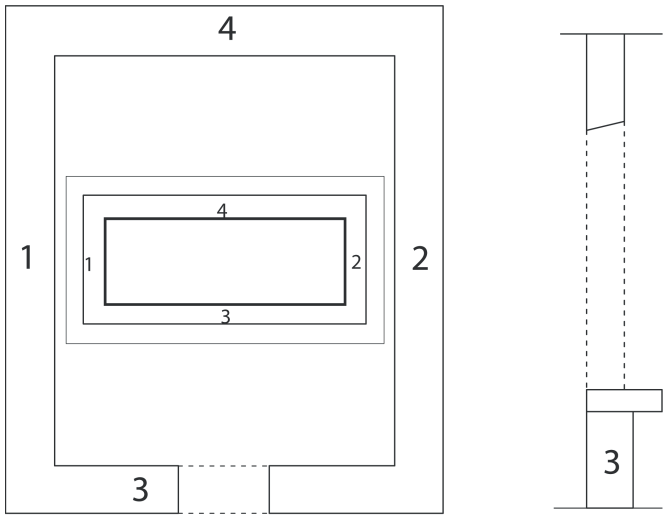


Fig. 4 - Plan and section, adapted from Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 42, figs. 1-2

of the eastern section of the façade.[16] According to Winlock's plans, it is conspicuous that the tomb of Harhotep was an underground structure built within the mortuary complex of TT 314 (Fig. 5). Although the complexes of Meketra (TT 280) and Ipi (TT 315) present some architectonic differences, both included similar subsidiary tombs within the perimeter of their courtyards, which might offer a parallel to the presence of Harhotep's tomb in TT 314.[17]

The placement of the sarcophagus *on* the floor of the mortuary chamber was not a conventional practice in the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty tombs

[16] In disagreement with Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, 227, fig. 3. According to these authors, Harhotep's burial chamber was situated in the deepest section of the rock-cut tomb (see burial chamber E in our Fig. 1), which does not agree with the dimensions, descriptions, and particulars provided first by Maspero and later by Winlock (cf. photo M3C 182, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). In addition, see two other pieces of evidence: a) the representation of a subsidiary tomb in the north-eastern section of the courtyard of TT 314 in the MMA map in: Winlock, *Mentuhotep*, 3; and b) the ancillary note by Winlock on the "subsidiary" nature of Harhotep's tomb – comparing it with Meseh's tomb – in: Winlock, *BMMA* 17, no. 12, part 2, 33: "It was in one of these pits that Maspero procured the sarcophagus and burial chamber of Horhotep which is among the treasures of the Egyptian Museum Cairo."

[17] For Meketra, see: Winlock, *BMMA* 15, no. 12, part 2, 14, 31-2, fig. 4 (subsidiary tomb of Wah); for Ipi, see: Winlock, *BMMA* 17, no. 12, part 2, 36, figs. 31, 35 (subsidiary tomb of Meseh), and Morales *et al.*, *SAK* 46, 171-3, pls. 13-6. However, the possibility that Harhotep was the original tomb owner in TT 314 but that the tomb builders preferred to offer him a burial chamber outside the rock-cut tomb should not be disregarded until further evidence is provided.

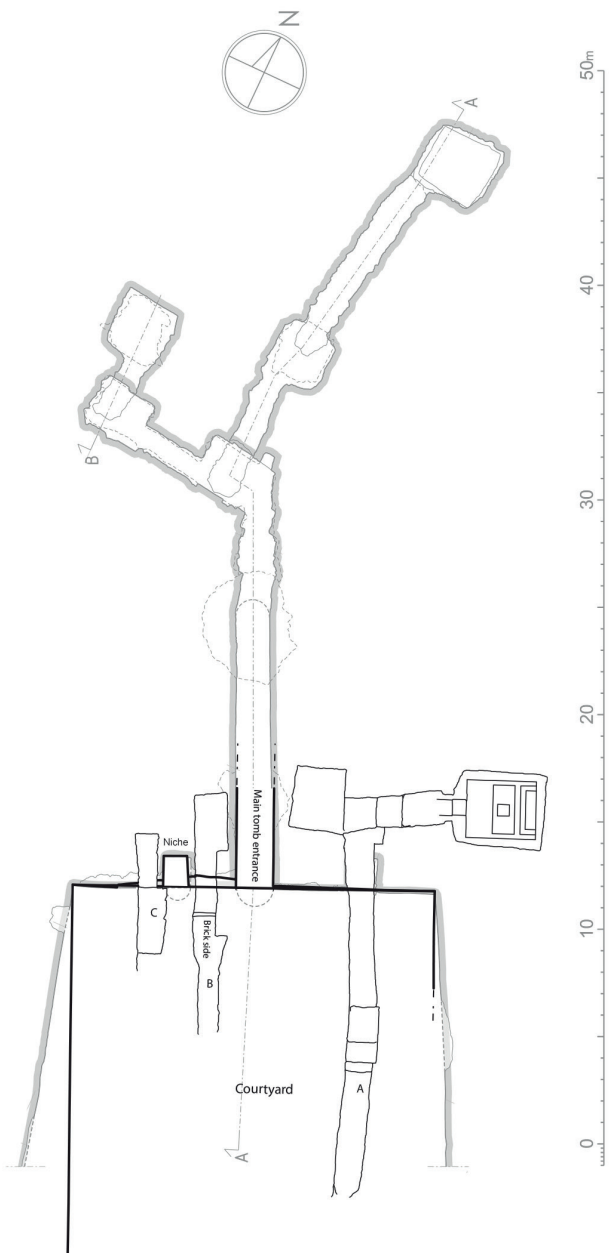


Fig. 5 - Overlaying the plan of Herbert E. Winlock (1921) over the most recent plan made by the Polish Mission published in 2017. Adapted from: Winlock draft. © Middle Kingdom Theban Project, M. Osman 2018; Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, fig. 3

at Deir el-Bahari. This feature can be seen in the nearby complexes of Khety (Fig. 6),[18] Meru,[19] and Ipi (Fig. 7).[20] At Deir el-Bahari, the sarcophagi of this period were conceived as subterranean structures situated under the paved floor of their burial chamber. In the case of Harhotep's mortuary chamber, built by the reign of Senwosret I, this idea was not completely disregarded as the tomb builders prepared a cased pit for the canopic box under the paved floor, hiding it beneath the sarcophagus itself.

Likewise, the technique for the construction of Harhotep's sarcophagus, built up with several stone blocks, was not completely alien. A parallel in the tomb of Khety (TT 311)[21] shows that Harhotep's sarcophagus followed previous examples. However, there is a significant difference between these two sarcophagi since the sides of Harhotep's sarcophagus were not built with entire slabs, but from several blocks forming two courses for every side.[22] In addition, we must not forget that this sarcophagus was built to be placed on top of the floor. In contrast, Khety's sarcophagus was built with a base and – according to Winlock's notes (see n. 21) – it consisted of four slabs joined together to form the four sides of the sarcophagus, with a fifth slab for the bottom.

Inscriptional evidence

The repertoire of religious texts[23] and iconography incorporated on the chamber walls and the sarcophagus sides in Harhotep's tomb (now CG 28023) is an expression of a consolidated tradition – well within the Twelfth Dynasty – in which Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts were fused into a single assemblage (Table 1). Previously, Harhotep's chamber and his sarcophagus were contextualized in the textual group of Theban sources from the late Eleventh Dynasty,[24] but the main rationale behind this consideration was simply "on account of their find-place".[25] An examination of

[18] See: Winlock, *BMMA* 18, no. 12, part 2, 19, fig. 12, where the authors describe the sarcophagus as "merely buried underfoot".

[19] Winlock, *Excavations*, 118-9, 123; Soliman, *Old and Middle Kingdom*, 100-8; and photo M7C 203, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[20] Winlock, *BMMA* 17, no. 12, part 2, 33, fig. 29; and Morales *et al.*, *SAK* 45, 272-4, fig. 8, pls. 50a-b.

[21] See: Winlock, *Mentuhotep*, 87, where the drawing of the limestone sarcophagus fragments seems to confirm the construction of Khety's sarcophagus by slabs.

[22] As indicated by Maspero: "chaque paroi est formée de deux pieces, un bloc droit posé verticalment sur le sol et le bloc dans lequel a été taillé la corniche. Il n'avait pas de fond: le sol du tombeau portait directement le cercueil en bois" (Maspero, *MMAF* 1, 155).

[23] For a previous collection of religious texts in Harhotep's chamber and sarcophagus, see: Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 100 (*s.v.* "chamber" and "coffin"[SIC]). For the hieroglyphic transcription, see: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 42-9 (chamber), and 49-56 (sarcophagus); Maspero, *MMAF* 1, 133-242, pls. 11-27.

[24] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 113.

[25] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 113, following Kees, *Totenglauben*, 166; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 122; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 27. However, see: Willems, *Chests of Life*, 113, n. 253, for Wolfgang Schenkel's consideration of a later date into the Twelfth Dynasty.

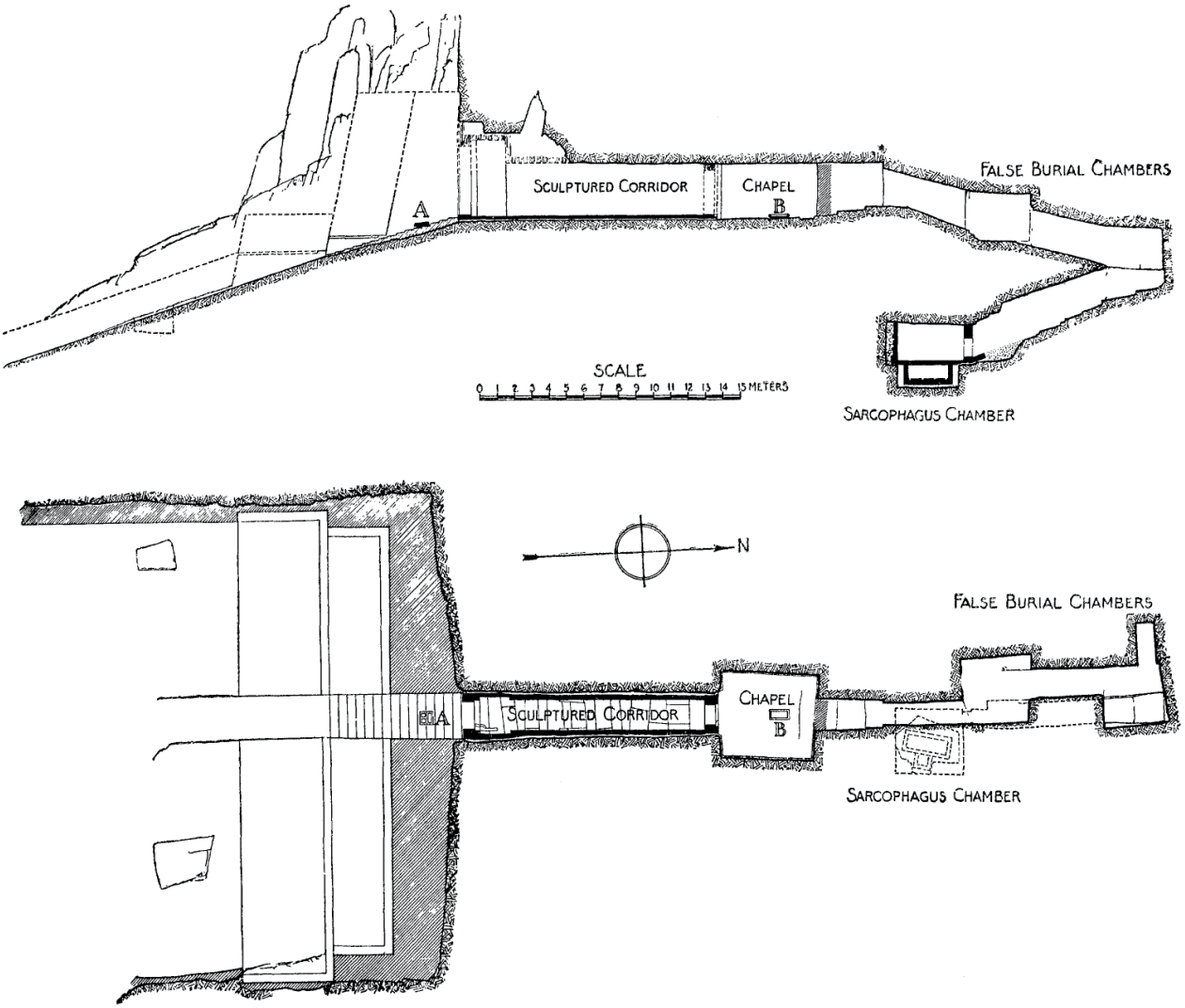


Fig. 6 - Plan of the mortuary complex of Khety (TT 311) with sectional view of the sarcophagus chamber and the position of sarcophagus. Published in: Winlock, *BMMA* 18, no. 12, Part 2 (1923), fig. 6

the textual compositions in the mortuary chamber of Harhotep reveals a much more advanced collection in this chapel than in earlier examples.[26] The analysis of the textual selection for the sarcophagus also indicates that there was a plan behind the theological and mortuary themes selected for Harhotep's 'chest of life'. Despite the traditional texts identified in the assemblage, such a selection – including their position and the topics covered – does not always follow previous patterns, but offers some innovative groupings. For instance, the concentration on spells coping with nautical aspects is aimed at symbolically converting the sarcophagus into a bark and therefore enabling the deceased's transition from the tomb to the abode of Osiris. In fact, some texts were intended to transform the deceased into the ferryman of the vessel and controller of the waters. Both sarcophagus texts and wall inscriptions came to ensure the resurrection of the deceased and his journey to the afterlife, incorporating some previously unattested texts, some traditional groupings,[27] and some innovative sets.

An examination of the mortuary texts attested on the walls of Harhotep's chamber should initiate this discussion. The positioning of the monument – with

[26] *Cf.* the integration of unbound Pyramid Texts into new strings (in T1aC in: Morales, *Transmission*, 864) with previous traditional patterns (Morales, *Transmission*, 852-63, Appendix 2) and other types of early Middle Kingdom innovations.

[27] See below the discussion on the combined use of CT 397 and CT 335, a pair of spells attested on the external back side of the sarcophagus, with clear ramifications on the domain of the deceased's resurrection, navigation, and incorporation into the realm of the gods.

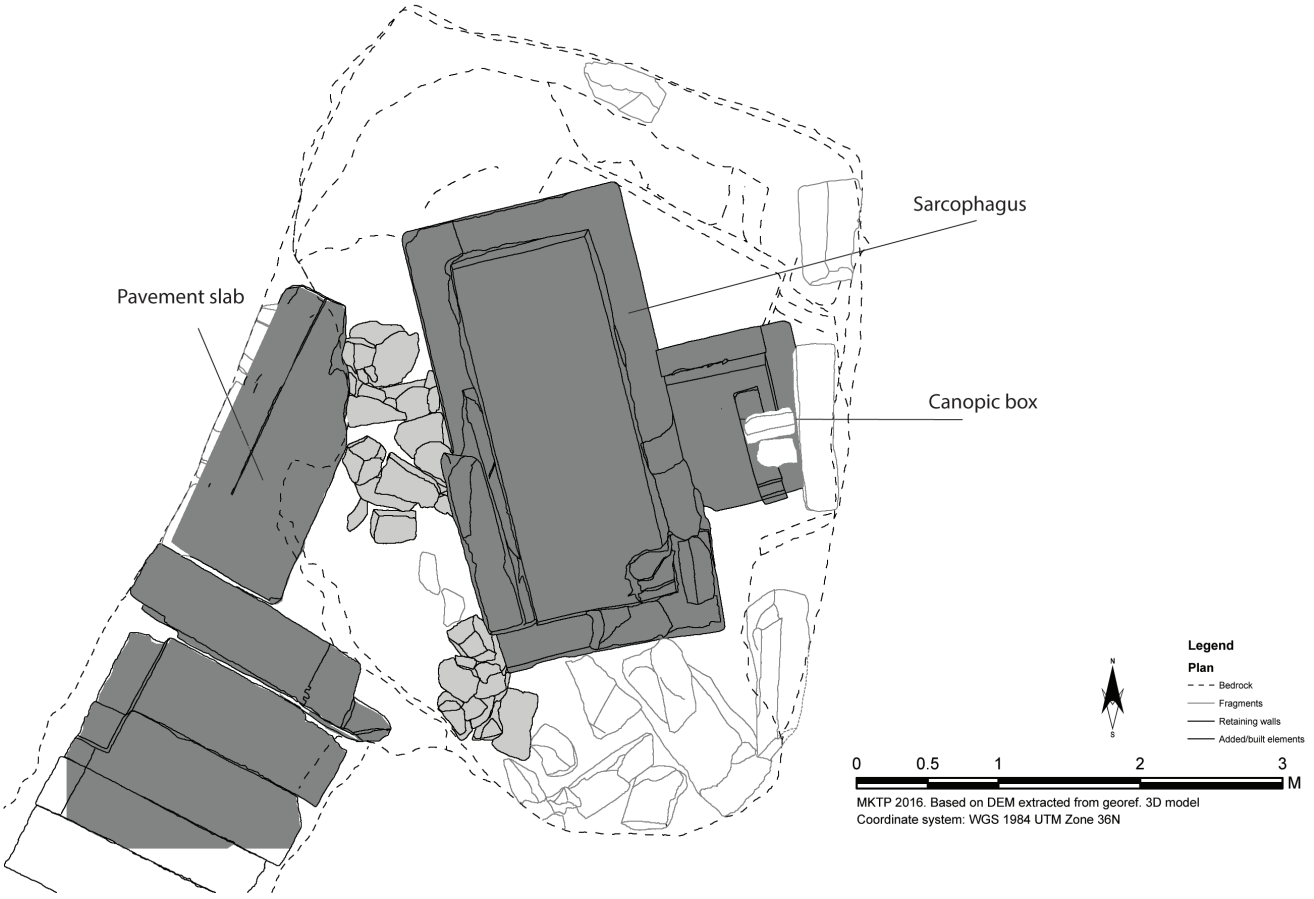


Fig. 7 - Plan of the mortuary chamber of Ipi (TT 315) and position of the sarcophagus © Middle Kingdom Theban Project, 2016

the initial section under the courtyard of TT 314, and the mortuary chamber under the eastern area of MMA 514 (Fig. 2: profiles x and y) – might have determined the selection of the iconographic and textual features represented on the four walls of the chamber. For instance, the west wall – i.e. entrance wall[28]– displays two large colourful false doors in its northern and southern sections (Table 1), with a central section (over the entrance) reproducing several sticks, sceptres, mace-heads, and twelve incense bars,[29] and a monumental band of hieroglyphs at the topmost. This wall is the only one without actual mortuary texts (i.e. offering spells, Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts).

With regard to the other three walls, further details shall help to clarify the textual and iconographic programme applied to Harhotep's mortuary chamber and sarcophagus. First, the expected decoration on the northern wall of a mortuary chamber, coffin or sarcophagus is observed here on the north wall (Lacau's wall 1). Two registers of monumental texts running from right to left, and an impressive scene of three large offering tables with the seven jars of sacred oils and two bags of eye-paint are represented on the north wall. These implements, once part of the original *Speiseritual*, concentrate on the topic of the sacerdotal protection of the deceased's head by applying unguents and eye-paint. Interestingly, a mid-Twelfth Dynasty date can be claimed for this scene as the few sources outside Meir showing this disposition are from the time of Senwosret II.[30] As for the selection of texts, some particular spells refer to the activities performed on the deceased, such as the censing (PT 25), application of ointment (PT 77), and clothing (PT 81).[31] In addition,

[28] The original drawing and measurements of the reconstruction in the Egyptian Museum Cairo can be found in: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 42, figs. 1-2. Surprisingly, the locations established by Maspero were not clear by the time Lacau published Harhotep's chamber and sarcophagus in 1903.

[29] Following Willems, *Chests of Life*, 221, n. 188, and 223, table 13: sticks, royal sceptre offering, royal weapon offering; Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 47-8 (objects nos. 35-44).

[30] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 212 (b), n. 165.

[31] Hays, *Organization*, 676; Hays, *JEOL* 41, 75, chart A.2, n. 1. For the relationship of CT 530 and PT 25, see: Morales, *Transmission*, 566, fig. 185, nn. 1650-1. A parallel can be observed in T9C: here spells CT 1 CT 20–25 CT 28 CT 29

East wall (Lacau 4) cols.		**South wall (Lacau 2)** cols.		**North wall (Lacau 1)** cols.		**West wall (Lacau 3)** cols.	
north side	false door	east side	false door	east side	false door	north side	false door 1
1-8 i	CT 63	1-3	PT 588	1A-40A	offering table reg. i	south side	false door 2
8-11 i	CT 64	4-6	PT 446	1B-40B	offering table reg. ii		
11-18 i	CT 65	6-7	PT 449	1C-40C	offering table reg. iii		
18-22 i	CT 66	7-8	PT 428	1-19	PT 220-222		
22-37 i	CT 67	8-16	PT 447	20-22	PT 25		
37-43 i	CT 68	16-17	PT 449	22-26	CT 530		
43-51 i	CT 69	17-18	PT 448	26-30	PT 81		
51-63 i-ii	CT 72	18-27	PT 450	30-33	PT 591		
63-71 ii	CT 73	27-40	PT 451	33	PT 414		
71-92 ii	CT 74	27-40	PT 452	34-35	PT 77		
92-100 ii	CT 832	27-40	PT 453	35-38	CT 845		
100-106 ii	PT 670	40-44	PT 367	38-42	PT 637		
		44-53	PT 356	42-44	PT 447		
		54-55	CT 21	44-46	CT 835		
		55-56	CT 22				
		56-58	CT 23				
		58-60	CT 22				
		60-61	CT 25				
		61-62	CT 23				
		62-63	CT 24				
		63-66	CT 833				
		66-70	CT 834				
		71-85	PT 670				
		86-106	CT 335				

Table 1 - Textual programme in Harhotep's mortuary chamber

we observe the presence of PT 220–222, three spells grouped together under Hartwig Altenmüller's label *Spruchfolge* A.[32] Such a grouping has a meaningful function although its usual position – at least until the end of the Old Kingdom – was on the south wall.[33] Here the departure or transfiguration spells deal with the journey and transformation of the deceased into an *akh*-spirit. The positioning in this area might be related to the modifications observed on the south wall of the chamber (Table 2, south wall) and the preference for texts of protection by the goddess Nut on the latter wall. The other spells, mainly PT 414, PT 591, and PT 637 deal with the perpetuation of the cult and image handling, well known themes in the Pyramid Texts.[34] CT 845 refers to the application of oil (as a reinforcement of PT 77), while the incorporation of PT 447 (Nut text)[35] and CT 835 has to do with the reassembling of the deceased's corpse and his resurrection.

As for the south wall, the sequence of texts includes

are situated on the front side (= South wall), while CT 63–74 and PT 670 – attested in the chamber of Harhotep as T1C on the East wall cols. 100–6, and T1C on the South wall cols. 71–85 – show up on the bottom of the coffin. For the coffin of Mentuhotep/Buau (T9C = CG 28027), see: Morales, *Transmission*, 564-6, n. 1644.

[32] Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 46-7; see also: Osing, *MDAIK* 42, 138 (Gruppe E.1). This group has been related to CT1–27 by Jürgens, in Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 57. *Cf.* Hays, *Organization*, 457, sequence 45, n. 1145.

[33] Hays, *Organization*, 679, chart B (B.1); Hays, *JEOL* 41, 54-6, 63, plan 2.

[34] Hays, *Organization*, 99-101, 680, chart C.

[35] *Cf.* Morales, *Pyramid Texts of Nut*, 122-4, fig. 7.

a long string of Nut texts[36] and a section of liturgy CT 1, with the addition of CT 833, CT 834 and CT 335. The section of CT 1 includes CT 21–23 CT 22 CT 25 CT 23 CT 24, which means that we are dealing with a section of Jan Assmann's *Liturgie* B.[37] The addition of CT 833, CT 834, PT 670, and CT 335 is not clear, but CT 833 and 834 seem to be associated with departure, raising, and achievement, PT 670 with departure from the tomb, while CT 335 is the most frequently attested spell in the Middle Kingdom and becomes a traditional text – with multiple corruptions (as in the case of T1C) – from the reigns of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II onwards.[38]

On the east wall one observes the presence of the sequence CT 63–69 CT 72–74 CT 832 and PT 670 (Pl. XV). The group has previously been identified as a sound sequence[39] called Altenmüller's *Spruchfolge* B.[40] This group and the relationship of its CT components with the Pyramid Texts is mainly attested at Saqqara, Bersheh, and Thebes, which means that – as Assmann notes – the older group might have represented a similar ritual to the Coffin Texts group and, in the late Eleventh Dynasty, achieved this configuration mainly at Thebes.[41] The last two spells refer to the transformation of the deceased into Horus, a theme already observed in CT 832, whose precursor was PT 306, and the departure from the tomb. Both spells – as Paul Barguet understands them as relating to the fate of the *ba*-spirit[42] – reflect the dominion of Horus in his journey, with his mother Isis greeting him, Nephthys mourning for him, and the chaotic Seth being slain.

With regard to the iconographic and textual programme of the sarcophagus (Table 2), it is unusual to see that the inner decoration and texts were painted directly on the stone sides, without a ground colour. The limestone surface shows the common white background colour and no supplementary colour layer has been added as is the common practice with the coffins. In addition, the layout of the inner sides in Harhotep's sarcophagus is also very uncommon since the box is decorated only on the upper half of the four sides (therefore, a "deviant" type following Harco Willems).[43] Such a layout no doubt influenced the unconventional distribution of texts and the lack of an object frieze.[44]

The head side presents an ornamental frame[45] and a horizontal line of ornamental hieroglyphs with an offering-formula for Harhotep. Here one observes that black-inked guiding-lines were used by the scribe/artist for the preparation of the hieroglyphic inscription. Under the ornamental texts, a line describing the items of the object frieze was included, just on top of the seven jars for oils and two smaller cups. The front side follows a different pattern to the one identified on the head end. Here, the space for the object frieze and a horizontal line of text is substituted by a section of Coffin Texts bringing together the string CT 1 CT 20–23 and a section of liturgy CT 1,[46] similar to layout type F1 in Willems's typology.[47] This group of texts belongs to a larger set of personal texts for the justification of the deceased, his physical reconstitution and integration into the realm of the god of the underworld. As Assmann comments on the relationship of liturgy CT 1 together with PT.AII (PT 220–222),[48] we might have to consider a possible connection between CT1 CT 20–23 (on the inner front side) and the east wall of the chamber.

In respect to the back side, again the sarcophagus

[36] Morales, *Pyramid Texts of Nut*, 154.
[37] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 57.
[38] Rössler-Köhler, *GM* 163, 71-93.
[39] Middle Kingdom parallels can be found in B10C (head), Q1Q (W), T2C (back + front), T9C (bottom), and Sq3C (back), see: Morales, *Transmission*, 405, nn. 442, 453, 1164.
[40] Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 47. Additionally, the group has been studied as liturgy CT 3 by Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 63-8 (see on p. 63 that Assmann takes T1C as a late Eleventh Dynasty assemblage), and 333-468 (as *Jj-ṯhb-wr* liturgy).
[41] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 64. For the ramifications of this group, with textual sources ranging from Herakleopolis (and Memphis/Saqqara) to Thebes, see: Jürgens, *Grundlinien*, 78-81. Here, however, we should take into consideration that the late Eleventh Dynasty date for the tomb and sarcophagus of Harhotep does not seem appropriate.
[42] Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 246-7.
[43] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 32. The textual area ends at mid-height where a recess projects inwards a few centimetres, reducing the space in the lower half. A similar situation – without recess – is observed on the outer sides of the sarcophagus where frame, decoration, and text only occupy the upper two thirds of the wall side.
[44] This practice is, however, not uncommon on Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. See, for instance, the lack of an object frieze on the sarcophagus of Intef, T4Be (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, nos. ÄM 1154–1155): LD II, pls. 145-6, with references in: PM I, 622.
[45] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 175 (1).
[46] For this liturgy, see: Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 54-60 (liturgy *ḥbs-t3*). The sub-type CT.1B to which the selection of Harhotep belongs (see p. 57), represents a tradition attested at Sedment, Beni Hasan, and Thebes (mainly T1L and T9C) in the late Eleventh Dynasty, which might have propitiated its transmission into the Twelfth Dynasty tradition to which Harhotep's texts belong.
[47] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 182, fig. 19, sources F1, with the upper half decorated only.
[48] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 56, n. 62.

of Harhotep is also exceptional since it does not follow the regular patterns observed in Willems's typology.[49] Here the entire wall is inscribed with spell CT 409. This spell is attested only on the sides and walls of Harhotep's sarcophagus and chamber, offering a clear case of a particular composition written down exclusively at Thebes for the deceased Harhotep.[50] The spell appears also in the two external head and front sides of the sarcophagus (see n. * in Table 2). The association of the spell CT 409 with the *neshmet*-bark of Osiris reflects an idea previously mentioned by Willems in relation to the mummification bed and CT 644, a kind of identification of the sarcophagus with the boat of Osiris.[51] Here the nautical symbolism and the reference to the 'helmsman', the 'steering-oar', and the 'starboard and larboard sides' reveal an association of the text with other ferryman texts such as CT 398 and CT 399, in which the deceased navigates to the abode of Osiris.[52] The use of this spell on the exterior of the head and foot sides indicates a manifest scheme to provide both short sides with the bow (head) and stern (foot) of Osiris's bark, and the same can be adduced for the use on the inner back side.[53]

On the inner front side one again finds a very particular layout with a false door, ornamental texts at the horizontal register up, and an offering list (with 120 columns, including PT 23 PT 25 PT 32 up to PT 172). Here one does not find any particular spell – beyond the offering PT spells in the offering list – and can only refer to the use of monumental texts and an offering list. The external front side, however, implies a more complex selection of texts for the deceased (Pl. XVI), with a longer series of texts initiated by CT 362 and CT 353. These two spells refer to the waters of the firmament and the afterlife, which relates well with the main topic of CT 409. In the case of CT 362, the attestation of Harhotep includes a title saying 'Having power over water, bathing in the flood, and being interred in Heliopolis'.[54] In the case of CT 353, although on the sarcophagus for Harhotep, the spell here does not include any title, while other sources such as B2L, B3C, and B1Bo present the title 'Spell for having power over water in the necropolis',[55] which again situates the sarcophagus of the deceased in the realm of the afterlife waters.

Some exceptional cases on this side of the sarcophagus are CT 390, CT 391, and CT 658. In the case of CT 390, the spell is usually connected with the head side of the sarcophagus, although here it is written on the front side, perhaps with the intention of protecting the head of the deceased from this location.[56] In the case of CT 391, as the texts implies ('I am one […] who acts as pilot of the *iwt*-bark of the great ones'), the deceased takes direct control of the *iwt*-bark to cross the horizon.[57] CT 658 refers again to the nautical condition of the deceased's voyage – to the Fields of Reeds – as it deals with 'going aboard the bark of Re' and 'fare upstream at the bow, guiding the voyages'.[58]

On the back side, the designers of Harhotep's sarcophagus programme included CT 397, CT 335, and CT 624. Interestingly, the first spell[59] again corresponds to a ferryman text, which has been cogently associated with CT 335. As proposed by Peter Jürgens, CT 397 and CT 335 "were integral components of a coffin decoration programme".[60] In opposition to Harhotep's programme (see n. 60), the association of these two spells in other programmes appears usually on the lid (CT 335) and bottom (CT 397), while we observe the presence of these two spells on the outer back side.

To sum up, it seems a compelling argument to consider the presence of multiple spells referring to navigation and celestial waters – the *neshmet*-bark of

[49] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 183, fig. 20, sources B1-B6.
[50] De Buck, *ECT*, vol. V, 227a-233j, see: Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 60-2; Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 370-2.
[51] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 168-9; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 156-9.
[52] Morales, *Pyramid Texts of Nut*, 157-8, n. 354.
[53] A similar connection might be noted in the case of the use of CT 409 for the inner back side of the sarcophagus, where the sarcophagus would have its 'larboard'.
[54] De Buck, *ECT*, vol. V, 17a-c, T1C: (*r³ n*) *sḫm mw wꜥb m nwy zm³ r Ỉwnw.*
[55] See: De Buck, *ECT*, vol. IV, 392a, B1Bo: (*r³ n*) *sḫm mw m ḥrt-nṯr.* In addition, three of the attested spells for CT 353 end the text with a rubric, mainly referring to 'having power over water and equipping this spirit' (S2C in De Buck, *ECT*, vol. IV, 401e-g: *ḏd-mdw ꜥfft sḫm m mw ꜥpr ³ḫ*).
[56] Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 53.
[57] De Buck, *ECT*, vol. V, 64d, pap. Gardiner II: *r³ n zm³ r Ỉwnw.*
[58] De Buck, *ECT*, vol. VI, 279a-q, T1C, with initial words expressing that the spell's use is for 'raising up a man to the great god' (*ḏd-mdw sjꜥr s*(*j*) *n nṯr-ꜥ³*). The spell, as in the case of CT 409, deals with the control of the starboard (front side) and larboard (back side) of the bark of Re.
[59] For CT 397 as part of the group CT 396–398 CT400–405, see: Hays, *JEOL* 40, n. 15. For the precursor of CT 397, see: Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Aba*, pl. 11, lines 587–605. CT 397 occurs in a ferryman spell from the *irdische Gruppe* (according to Kees, in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 177-8), which deals not with magical knowledge but with daily life knowledge of the vessel and its constituents. CT 397 has been studied in detail in Bickel, in: Bickel, Mathieu (eds.), *D'un Monde à l'Autre*, 105-6, who notes an initiatic significance as well.
[60] Jürgens, *SAK* 29, 113, n. 3, table 3; *cf.* Hays, *JEOL* 40, 46, n. 21; Willems, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, 362-3.

Ext. head side cols.		**Ext. foot side** cols.		**Ext. front side** cols.		**Ext. back side** cols.		**Int. back side** cols.		**Int. foot side** cols.	
1-20	CT 409*	1-19	CT 409*	A+1-24	CT 362	A+1-73	CT 397	1-110	CT 409	1-4	CT 1*
				B+24-28	CT 353	B+73-140	CT 335			5-24	CT 20
				28-29	CT 359	C+141-152	CT 624			5-24	CT 21
				29-30	CT 391					5-24	CT 22
				30-34	CT 353					5-24	CT 23
				C+34-36	CT 387						
				36-38	CT 389						
				38-39	CT 410						
				39-42	CT 448						
				D+43-46	CT 223						
				D	CT 402						
				46-52	CT 312						
				52-59	CT 402						
				E+59-62	CT 194						
				F+63-66	CT 378						
				F+66-67	CT 390						
				67-69	CT 391						
				69-72	CT 390						
				G+72-81	CT 214						
				H+82-85	CT 623						
				I+86-91	CT 658						
				J+91-94	CT 623						
				K+94-101	CT 312						
				L+101-105	CT 183						
				105-108	CT 179						
				M+108-112	CT 657						
				N+112-125	CT 310						
				125	CT 624						

Columns have been numbered; horizontal lines (with spell titles) have been labelled with letters (e.g. A, B, F, M).
* These sections have not been yet collated. Readings are based on Lesko, *Index*, 100.

Table 2 - Textual programme in Harhotep's sarcophagus

Osiris (CT 409), controlling of waters (CT 353, CT 362), piloting the *iwt*-bark (CT 391), manoeuvring the bark of Re (CT 658) – as a master plan developed by the designers of the tomb to transform the sarcophagus and the mortuary chamber[61] into the deceased's ferry and the celestial landscape. The two domains – physical and mythological – are intricately intertwined. As the selection of texts points to the nautical experience, it is therefore evidently associated with the deceased's fate with the ferry across the firmament to the abode of Osiris.

Conclusions

The initial study conducted by the authors about the monumental, iconographic, and textual programmes of the mortuary chamber and sarcophagus of Harhotep brings to light the particular aspects of a monument

[61] A complex feature in this scheme is the construction and disposition of the canopic box under the sarcophagus in the middle of Harhotep's chamber (Fig. 3), whose connotations in relation to the nautical symbolism are beyond our understanding.

certainly disregarded since its discovery in 1883. The location of this monumental burial, which is to be found in the courtyard of tomb TT 314 – just at its north-eastern corner, 15 m from the façade – remained forgotten for a century, which means that its context, layout, architecture and decoration have never been fully considered. The incorporation of the Egyptian Museum Cairo monument into the research activity of the Middle Kingdom Theban Project intends to reassess the burial of the 'royal seal bearer' Harhotep, and provide a better contextualization for its study, documentation, and publication. Based on our current investigations, there are several hypotheses and particular aspects that should be taken into consideration:

a) The actual location of Harhotep's tomb was *in* the courtyard of TT 314. Considering that the architecture of TT 314 (courtyard and inner rock-cut tomb with twofold sections) has been related to the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty tomb types in the area,[62] it is understandable to consider that the owner of TT 314 was actually not Harhotep, a high-official who seems to have lived in the time of Senwosret I, but a member of Mentuhotep II's elite. Expanding on this hypothesis, it might be the case that Harhotep's burial – located outside rock-cut tomb TT 314 – was i) a later inclusion in the courtyard of TT 314; or ii) a burial built there precisely as testimony of the certain association between Harhotep and the owner of the main mortuary complex. Such a hypothesis should be taken into consideration in future evaluations of the complex.[63]

b) In the case that Harhotep's tomb represented the burial of a relative, dependent, or associate of the owner of TT 314, it is possible to find a few Middle Kingdom parallels illustrating the ancillary position of Harhotep's tomb, that follows a well-known pattern in which a subsidiary tomb is built near to the entrance of the main monument: see, for instance, the case of TT 315, Ipi's tomb, and the related burial of Meseh (probably a usurper who reused the tomb belonging to an individual who surely was an associate or dependent of the vizier Ipi);[64] or the particular location of Wah, Meketra's servant, buried in the mortuary complex TT 280[65] whose tomb was built in relatively the same position in which the tomb of Harhotep is to be found in the courtyard of TT 314.

c) The disposition of the mortuary chamber of Harhotep, with its steep sloping passage and long corridor leading to a square-shaped antechamber and to the eastern mortuary chamber, presents a different architectural pattern to that of the late Eleventh Dynasty, when tombs had a long entrance corridor leading to a cultic chapel and burial chamber. In fact, the position of Harhotep's tomb seems to indicate that TT 314 was already built when the builders initiated the excavation of the steep descent for Harhotep's burial. In addition, the orientation of the tomb, with access from the west and the sarcophagus located on the eastern side of the chamber should be taken into consideration for any analysis of the iconography and textual programme.

d) As observed above, the orientation of the sarcophagus – with the head side and front side agreeing with the north and south cardinal points – and the mortuary chamber have been taken as references for the selection of the iconographic and textual content. However, the format and disposition of the chamber forced the builders and artists to combine numerous themes and images on each wall, attempting to follow a classical rationale but also adopting some exceptions. For instance, one may find curious the particular way in which they decorated the north wall of the chamber, with a representation of a false door, an offering list, a register with seven jars and two bags of eye-paint, and a blend of offering Pyramid Texts (*i.e.* PT 25, PT 77, PT 81) with transfiguration Pyramid Texts (*i.e.* PT 220–222), as this is a group whose natural position should have been on the south wall. And here lies one of the major innovations in the programme of Harhotep's tomb, in the fact that the mortuary chamber was decorated following a twofold tradition: on the one hand, the tomb's artists employed the traditional decoration for the mortuary chambers (e.g. offering Pyramid Texts and offering lists on the north wall), but on the other hand, they considered the chamber as a sarcophagus encasing the real sarcophagus, with elements of the *frises d'objets* such as the sandals on the south wall of the chamber – that is in relation to the front side of the sarcophagus – but with transfiguration texts moved onto the north wall. Indeed, further research on the position of the entire programme of textual groups, the exceptional settings for some of them, and the incorporation of objects in the wall decoration usually destined for a sarcophagus will shed light on the innovative selections prepared for Harhotep at Deir el-Bahari.

[62] Chudzik, Caban, *EtudTrav* 30, 228, n. 16.
[63] Another alternative is that Harhotep was the owner of the mortuary complex TT 314 but his architects decided to locate his mortuary chamber outside the main rock-cut monument, but this seems impractical.
[64] See: Morales *et al.*, *SAK* 46, 171-3, fig. 5, pls. 13-6; and the initial Winlock, *BMMA* 17, no. 12, part 2, 40, fig. 31.
[65] Winlock, *BMMA* 15, no. 12, part 2, 31-2, figs. 4, 26-8.

Acknowledgments
The publication of this paper gives the authors the opportunity to thank several institutions contributing to the initiation of this project. First, we would like to pay tribute to the authorities and colleagues of the Ministry of Egyptian Antiquities and the Egyptian Museum Cairo, who provided us with the particular permissions, recommendations, and support to work in the area of Deir el-Bahari and to begin the preparation of a full publication of the mortuary chamber and sarcophagus of Harhotep (CG 28023). In addition, we would like to express our gratitude to the *Stiftungsfonds für Postgraduates der Ägyptologie* (Vienna, Austria) and to the associated funding committee for the award offered to us in 2015 that fostered this research. In addition, we would like to thank the two institutions under which we have conducted our research, the Freie Universität Berlin (Germany) and the University of Alcalá (Spain). Other colleagues and friends, especially the members of the Middle Kingdom Theban Project under whose auspices we have developed our last four seasons of work – at the museum and in Deir el-Bahari – deserve our gratitude, especially our colleague Eman H. Zidan for her support and contribution to this research and the conservation work applied to the monument. Finally, our gratitude also goes to the MINECO/FECYT funds for the I+D+I project HAR2017-84505-P "Proyecto Reino Medio Tebano: arqueología, epigrafía y conservación de tumbas de finales de la Dinastía XI y del Reino Medio en Tebas (Luxor, Egipto)", which have also allowed us to run the last season of fieldwork in Egypt, and to the staff of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) for their support, help, and materials regarding both this particular contribution and the current archaeological work in Deir el-Bahari.

Bibliography

Altenmüller, H., *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden: ÄA 24, 1972).

Assmann, J., *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1: *Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: SHAW 14, 2002).

Aubry, M., W.A. Berggren, C. Dupuis, H. Ghaly, D. Ward, C. King, R.W. O'B. Knox, K. Ouda, M. Youssef, W. Fathi Galal, "Pharaonic Necrostratigraphy: A Review of Geological and Archaeological Studies in the Theban Necropolis, Luxor, West Bank, Egypt", *Terra Nova* 21/4 (2009), 237-55.

Barguet, P., *Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris: LAPO 12, 1986).

Bickel, S., "D'un Monde à l'Autre: Le Thème du Passeur et de sa Barque dans la Pensée Funéraire", in S. Bickel, B. Mathieu (eds.), *D'un Monde à l'Autre. Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages* (Cairo: BdE 139, 2004), 91-117.

Chudzik, P., M. Caban, "Observations on the Architecture of the Tomb of Horhotep in Western Thebes", *EtudTrav* 30 (2017), 221-9.

de Buck, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago: OIP 34, 49, 64, 73, 81, 87, 132, 1935–1961).

Faulkner, R.O., *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Oxford, 2004).

Hays, H.M., "The Mutability of Tradition: The Old Kingdom Heritage and Middle Kingdom Significance of Coffin Texts Spell 343", *JEOL* 40 (2006–2007), 43-59.

Hays, H.M., "Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts", *JEOL* 41 (2008–2009), 47-94.

Hays, H.M., *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts. Typology and Disposition* (Leiden, Boston: PdÄ 31, 2012).

Jéquier, G., *La pyramide d'Aba. Fouilles à Saqqara* (Cairo, 1935).

Jürgens, P., *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30-32+33-37, 75(-83), 162+164, 225+226 und 343+345* (Wiesbaden: GOF IV/31, 1995).

Jürgens, P., "Textkritik der Sargtexte, CT-Sprüche 1–27", in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts. Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck* (Leiden: EU 9, 1996), 55-72.

Jürgens, P., "Zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der Sargtextsprüche 335 und 397", *SAK* 29 (2001), 111-38.

Kees, H., "Zur lokalen Überlieferung des Totenbuch-Kapitels 99 und seiner Vorläufer", in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin: DAWB 29, 1955), 176-85.

Kees, H., *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter. Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1956).

Lacau, M., *Sarcophages Antérieurs au Nouvel Empire. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 28001–28086*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1904).

Lepsius, C.R., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen*

Expedition, vol. II, nos. 3–4: *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* (Berlin, 1859).

Lesko, L.H., *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (Berkeley, 1979).

Lilyquist, Ch., *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom* (Munich: MÄS 27, 1979).

Maspero, G., "Trois Années de Fouilles dans les Tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis", *MMAF* 1 (1889), 133-81.

Maspero, G., *Guide to the Cairo Museum* (Cairo, 1908).

Morales, A.J., *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom: Philological Aspects of a Continuous Tradition in Egyptian Mortuary Literature* (PhD dissertation: University of Pennsylvania – Philadelphia, 2013).

Morales, A.J., *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut: Analysis of Their Distribution and Role in the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Hamburg: BSAK 19, 2017).

Morales, A.J., S. Falk, M. Osman, R. Sánchez: Casado, H. Shared, K. Yamamoto, E.H. Zidan, "The Middle Kingdom Theban Project: Preliminary Report on the Freie Universität Berlin Mission to Deir el-Bahari, First and Second Seasons (2015–2016)", *SAK* 45 (2016), 257-82.

Morales, A.J., R. Abd El-Hady, K. Accetta, S. Alarcón, T. Bardají, F. Celis, E. Echevarría, S. Falk, M. Hussein, S. Ikram, J. Ortiz, M. Osman, A. Sáez, R. Sánchez, D. Serova, H. Shared, K. Yamamoto, E.H. Zidan, "The Middle Kingdom Theban Project: Preliminary Report on the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari, Third Season (2017)", *SAK* 46 (2017), 153-90.

Osing, J., "Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas", *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 131-44.

Porter, B., R.L.B. Moss, J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 8 vols. (Oxford: 1927–2012).

Rössler-Köhler, U., "Sargtextspruch 335 und seine Tradierung", *GM* 163 (1998), 71-93.

Schenkel, W., *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn: BOS n.s. 13, 1962).

Soliman, R., *Old and Middle Kingdom Theban Tombs* (London, 2009).

Willems, H.O., *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden: MVEOL 25, 1988).

Willems, H.O., *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven: OLA 70, 1996).

Willems, H.O., "The Embalmer Embalmed. Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins", in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Groningen: EM 1, 1998).

Winlock, H.E., "The Egyptian Expedition 1918–1920: II. Excavations at Thebes 1919–20", *BMMA* 15, no. 12, Part 2 (1920), 1-2, 12-32.

Winlock, H.E., "The Egyptian Expedition 1921–1922: II. Excavations at Thebes", *BMMA* 17, no. 12, Part 2 (1922), 19-49.

Winlock, H.E., "The Egyptian Expedition 1922–1923: The Museum's Excavations at Thebes", *BMMA* 18, no. 12, Part 2 (1923), 11-39.

Winlock, H.E., *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1911–1931* (New York, 1942).

Winlock, H.E., *Mentuhotep Cemetery – Extramural Tombs*. *Notebook 3 written by Herbert E. Winlock, kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Colour Plates

Plate I

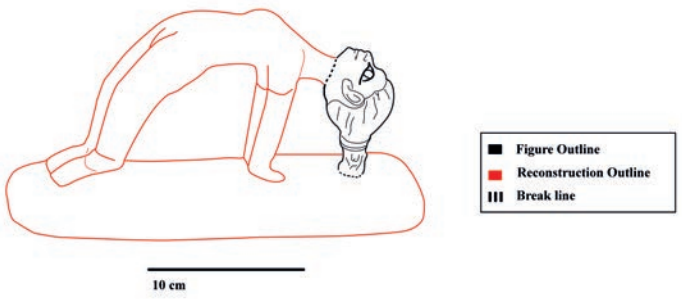
1 - Fragments of an anthropoid coffin or cartonnage: faience inlays, plaster ear and painted wood fragments (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 77). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

2 - Small painted limestone head from QH31 (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 32). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

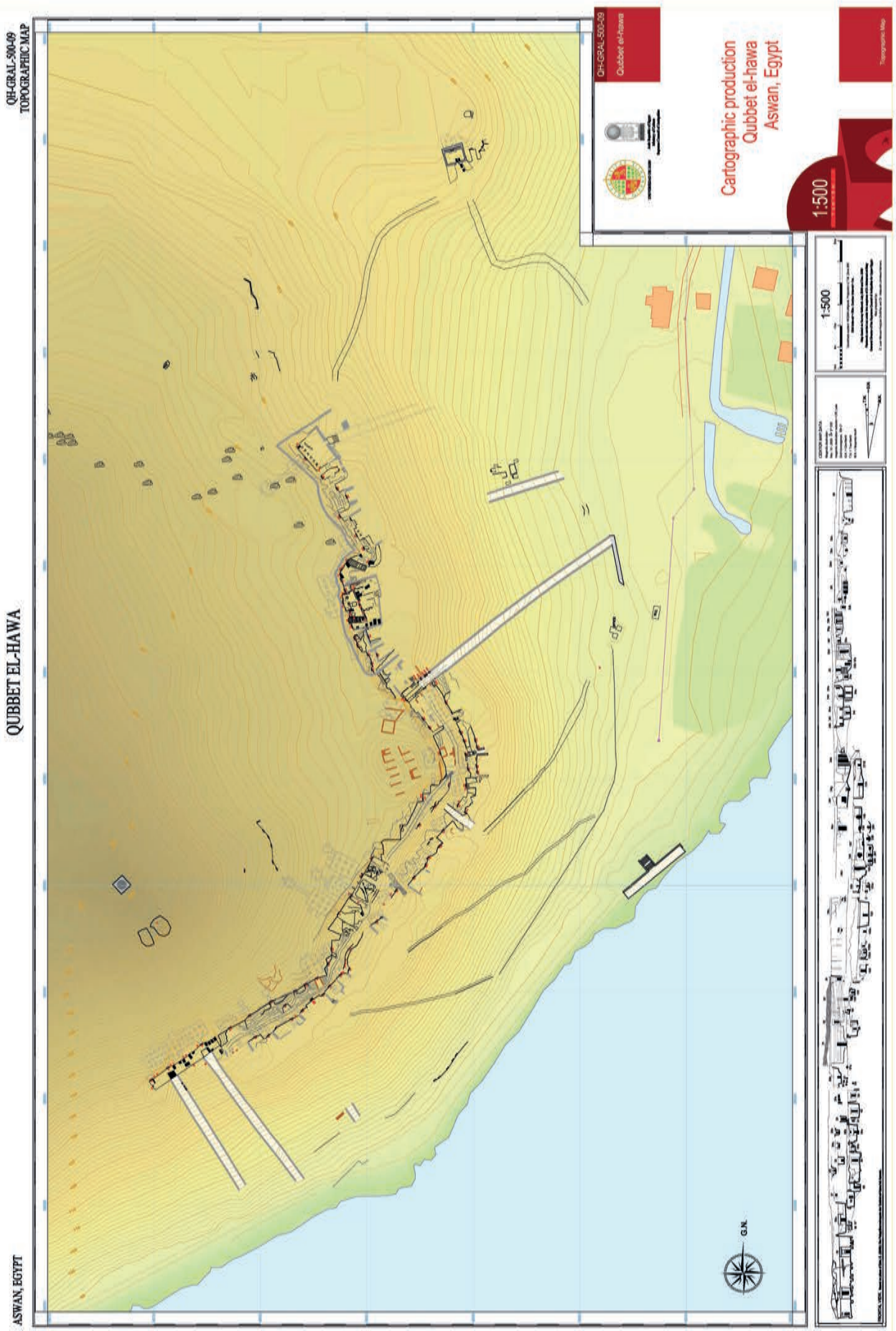
1 - Profile of the QH31 head (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 32). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

2 - Top view of the QH31 head (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 32). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

3 - Statuette of a female acrobat. Middle Kingdom, Twelfth – early Thirteenth Dynasty, circa 1938–1630 BC. Excavated by T.E. Peet and W. Loat of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1912–13. Limestone. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Brooklyn 13.1024). Photo © Brooklyn Museum



4 - Proposed reconstruction of the Qubbet el-Hawa head (QH31/15/C0/UE1/Inv. 32) based on the acrobat figurine Brooklyn 13.1024. Drawing © María Isabel Puerto Fernández 2017



Plan of the necropolis. Plan © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Juan Manuel Anguita Ordoñez

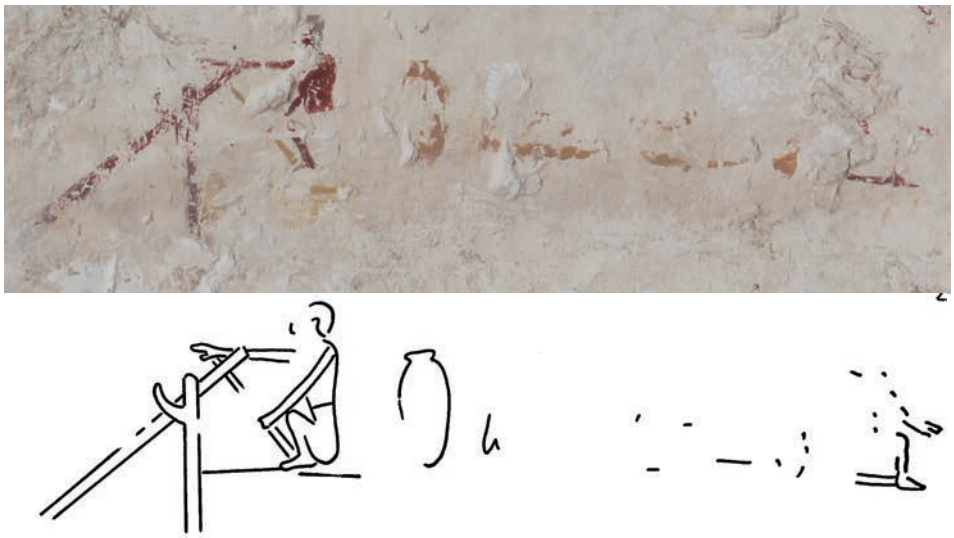
1 - Statue of Sarenput II in the corridor of tomb QH31. Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Luisa M. García González

2 - Cartonnage shroud of Heqaib III. Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Raúl Fernández Ruiz

3 - Sarenput, born of Neferethesu (miniature coffin and shabti). Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Patricia Mora Riudavets

1 - Funerary mask of Wah. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 40.3.54, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1940. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

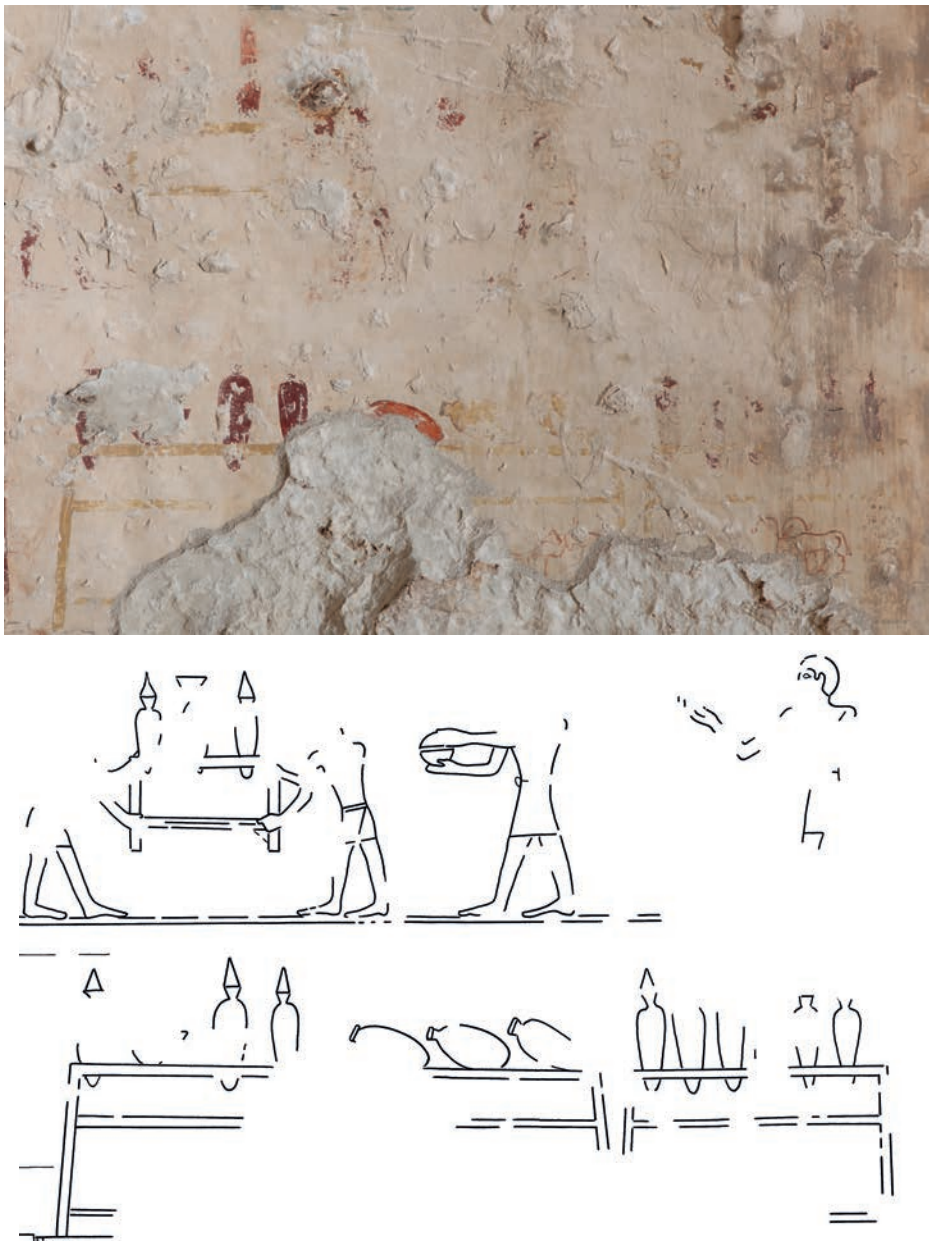
2 - Miniature anthropoid coffin of the shabti belonging to Sarenput the Younger. Photo © Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa / Raúl Fernández Ruiz



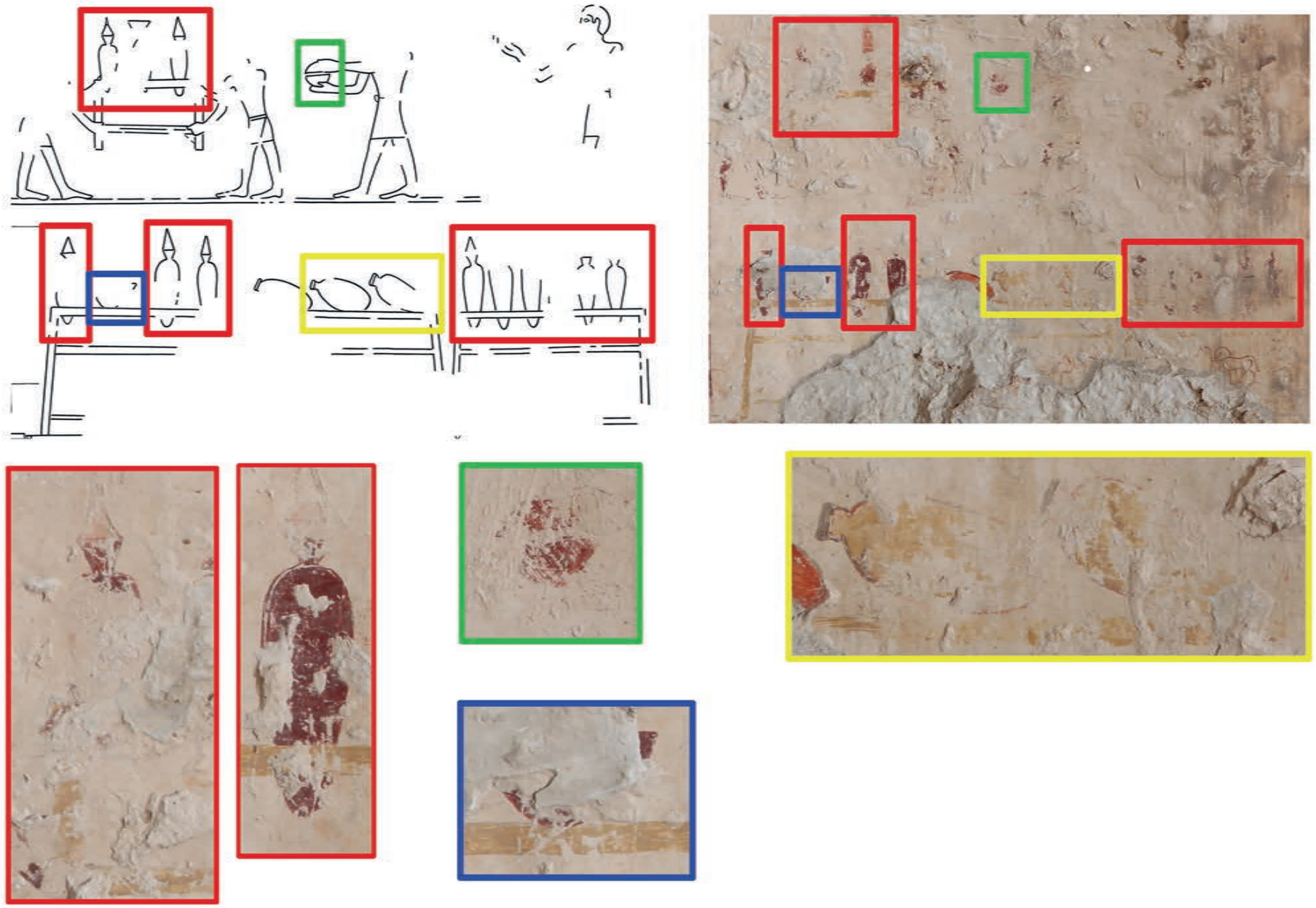
3a-b - N13.1, Südwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

3c-d - N13.1, Südwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

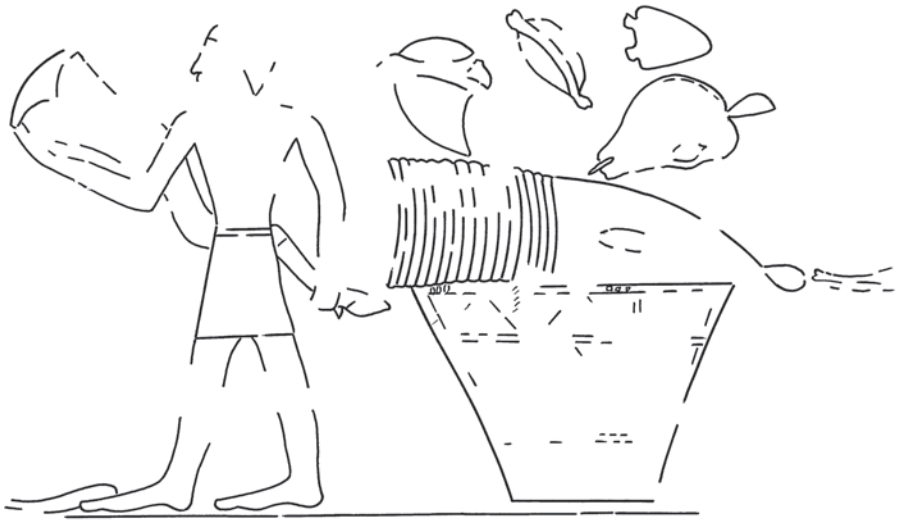
1a-b - N13.1, Westwand, Rücksprung, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project



2a-b - N13.1, Westwand, nördlicher Bereich, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project



Zusammenstellung der Gefäßformen mit Details der am besten erhaltenen Dekoration. Fotos: Fritz Barthel, Faksimiles: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

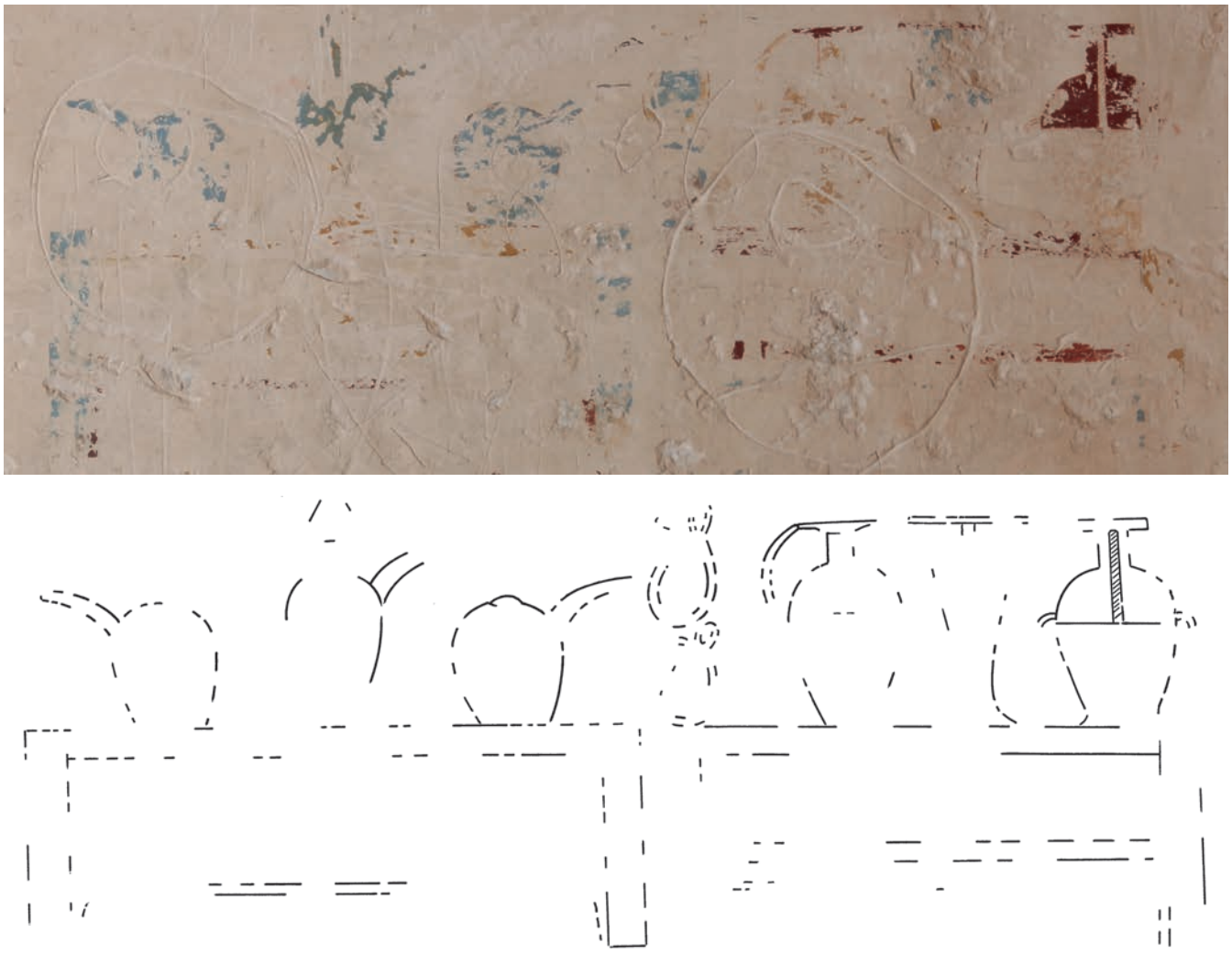


1a-b - N13.1, Nische, Nordwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

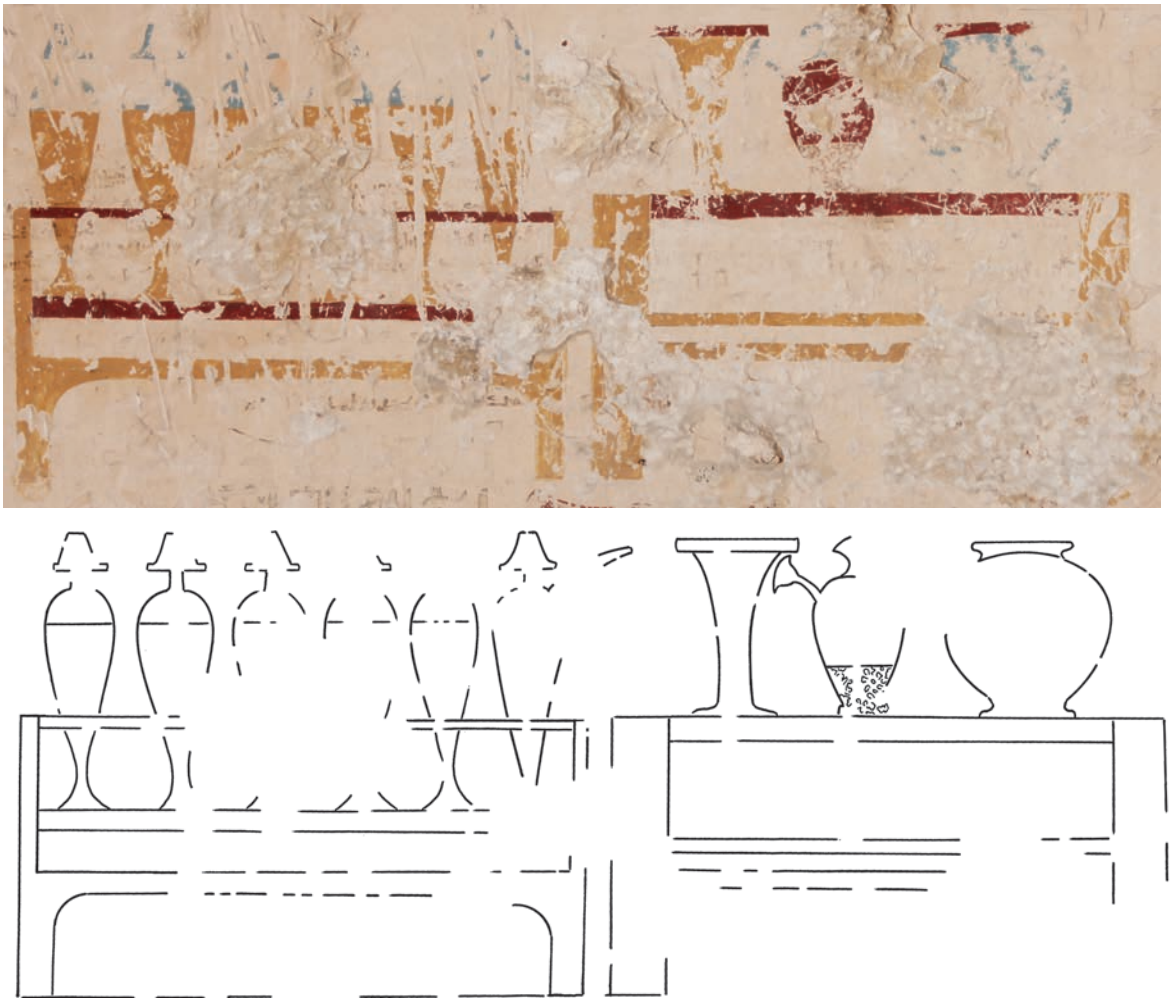
2a-b - N13.1, Nische, Nordwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

3a-b - N13.1, Nische, Nordwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

1a-b - N13.1, Nische, Nordwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

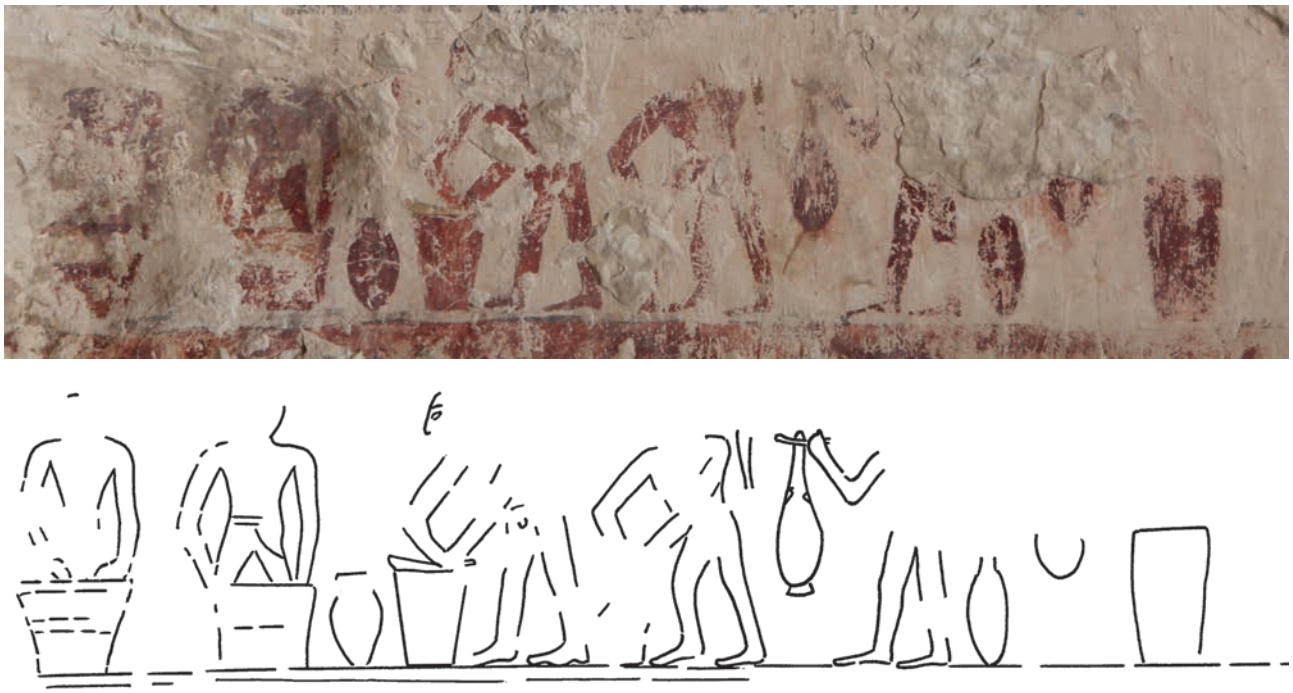


2a-b - N13.1, Nische, Westwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project



1a-b - N13.1, Nische, Westwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

2a-b - N13.1, Nische, Westwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project



1a-b - N13.1, Südwand, östlicher Bereich. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

2a-b - N13.1, Südwand, östlicher Bereich. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, mit Ergänzungen von Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project

2 - Ständer S07/st145.3 aus N13.11 auf Level 7 (im Umfeld von N13.1). Durchmesser Mündung: 8,4 cm, Durchmesser Boden: 12,0 cm, Höhe: 19,1 cm, Farbüberzug außen, tongrundig innen. Foto: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project

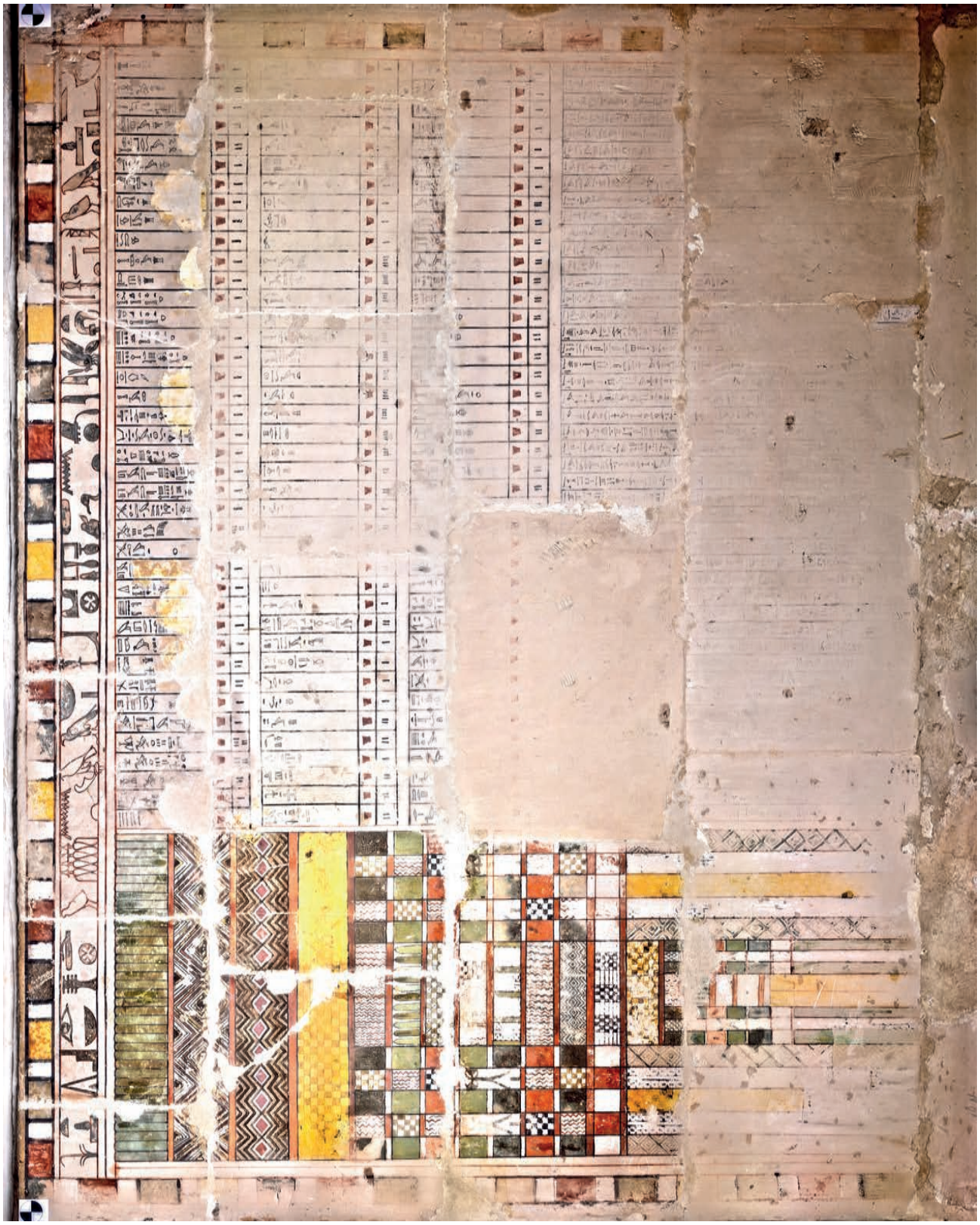
1a-b - Grab I, Opferaufbau. Zweiter Korridor, Südwand, Detail. Foto: Fritz Barthel, Faksimile: Dr. Sameh Shafik, © The Asyut Project

N13.1, Gefäße, ihre Umzeichnung und ihre materiellen Entsprechungen. Nicht maßstabsgetreu. Fotos: Fritz Barthel, Faksimiles: Dr. Sameh Shafik, Zeichnung und Umzeichnung der offenen Formen: Andrea Kilian, © The Asyut Project. Zeichnung des ovoiden Gefäßes publiziert in: Kahl, Engel, Sanhueza-Pino, in Schiestl, Seiler (Hgg.), *Handbook*, vol. II, Fig. 7.7

1 - Faience lion from Lahun, UC 16679. Photo © Gianluca Miniaci, courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UCL

2 - Faience hedgehog. British Museum, London, BM EA 36345 © Trustees of the British Museum. Photo Gianluca Miniaci

3 - Faience dog from Lisht North, Pit 805. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 08.200.36, Rogers Fund, 1908. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



View of the East wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Harhotep (Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 28023) © Middle Kingdom Theban Project

View of the external front side of the sarcophagus of Harhotep (Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 28023) © Middle Kingdom Theban Project